

UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS LIBRARY
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
BOOKSTACKS

CENTRAL CIRCULATION BOOKSTACKS

The person charging this material is responsible for its renewal or its return to the library from which it was borrowed on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below. **The Minimum Fee for each Lost Book is \$50.00.**

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

TO RENEW CALL TELEPHONE CENTER, 333-8400

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

MAY 17 1995
NOV 06 1995

AUG 23 1995

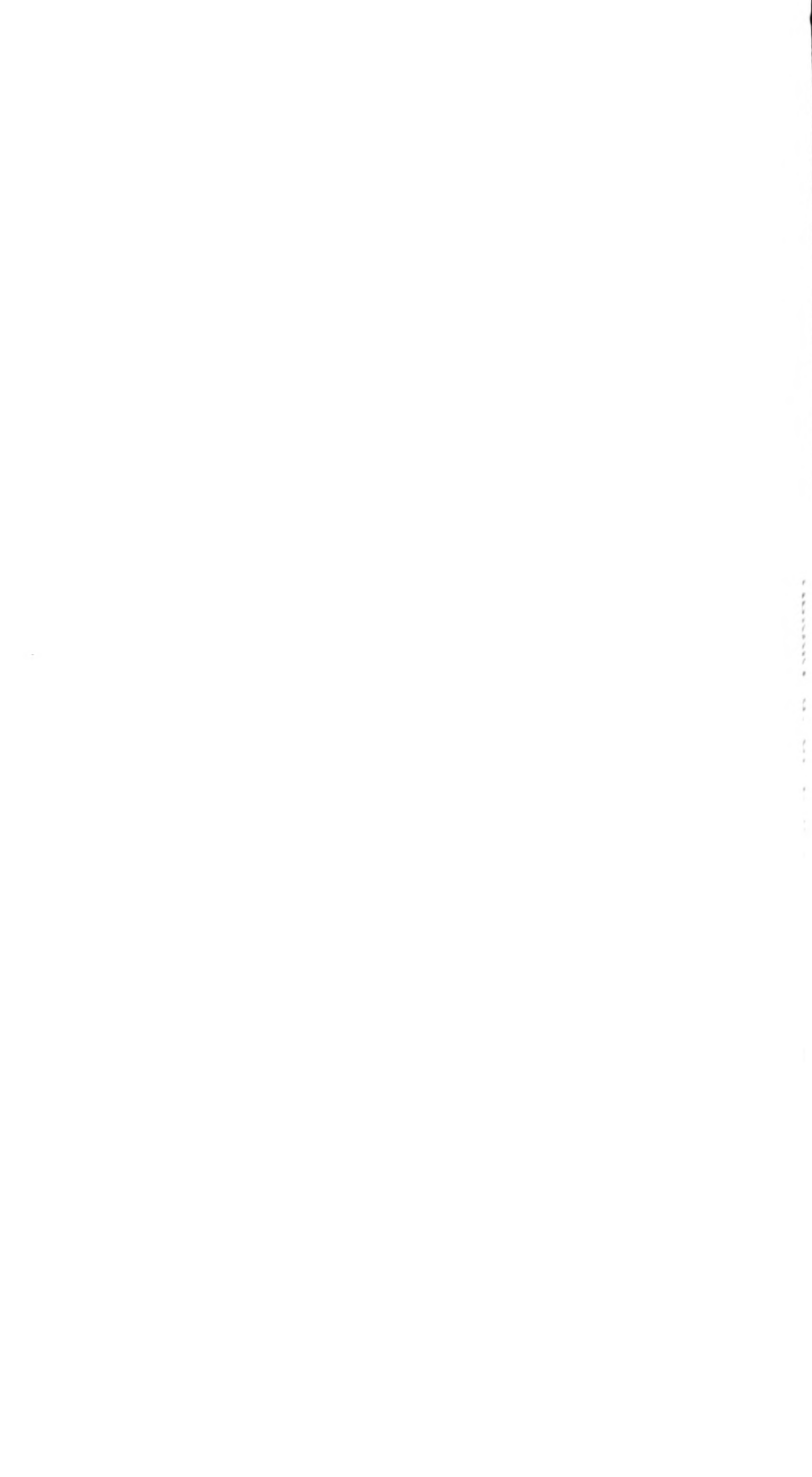
MAY 06 1998

MAR 08 2000
MAR 17 2000

JUL 1 2000

When renewing by phone, write new due date below
previous due date.

L162



Christy's Lectures on African J/7-15

273096

LECTURES

ON

AFRICAN COLONIZATION,

AND

KINDRED SUBJECTS.

By DAVID CHRISTY,

AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY FOR OHIO.

COLUMBUS:

PUBLISHED BY J. H. RILEY & CO.,

PRINTED BY SCOTT & BASCOM.

1853.

UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS LIBRARY
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
STACKS

PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

THE interest which these Lectures awakened, at the time of their delivery and subsequent publication, on account of their conservative tone and the numerous facts they embrace, has induced us to issue them in a single volume. In this form they will be valuable, not only for present reading, to those who have not seen them, but as a work of reference on the subjects which they discuss.

The request of the members of the Legislature, for the publication of the first two Lectures, might be considered as an ample endorsement of their worth, and as rendering the addition of any other commendatory notices unnecessary. We cannot refrain, however, from adding one from the pen of a distinguished literary foreigner, as an evidence of the impression they produced upon her mind. While in Cincinnati, she had applied to the author, through a friend, for copies of all three of the Lectures, and on reading them, sent him a note from which we make the following extract :

CINCINNATI, 9th Dec. 1850.

My Dear Sir:—Receive my heartfelt thanks for your letter and Lectures, and still more for your views and working in the question about emancipation and slavery. They are the first ones I have met, which have inspired me—I mean, made me feel inspired, glowing, on the subject—and opened to me great views, great possibilities in the cause. They have made me truly delighted. My nature is too averse to polemics, to have been able to sympathise or be warned by the ultra abolitionists. But I adore the ideal, the perfect and true; and only from that central point can all relative points come out in their true light, true relations; and only from that point is any strong organizing power to be exercised.

I congratulate you, most sincerely, on the view of the cause you have taken up, and the way you are working it out, and myself, to be instructed by your writings.

Yours, very truly,

FREDRIKA BREMER.

MR. DAVID CHRISTY.

The facts embraced in these Lectures are, mostly, of a class that are not of easy access to common readers; nor do we know of any other writer who has brought together so many materials, in so small a space, on the important and exciting questions he has so carefully examined. It is expected, therefore, that their republication will be acceptable to the politician, the statesman, the philanthropist, the divine, and all who feel interested in the intellectual and moral elevation of the people of color.

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.

Introduction.....	3	Necessity of Colonization.....	27
The Slave Trade.....	4	Practicability of Colonization.....	31
Emancipation of Slaves in the United States.....	11	Influence of Colonization on the Native Africans.....	33
Colonization to Liberia.....	15	Influence of Colonization on Missionary Efforts.....	33
Influence of Climate on Colored Men.....	19	Relations of England to Liberia.....	35
Influence of Climate and Foreign Emigration.....	22	Concluding Remarks.....	51
Influence of Slavery and Foreign Emigration.....	23		
Free Colored Emigration into Ohio.....	24		

LECTURE II.

Introduction.....	3	Slaves, the Middle Passage.....	24
Social and Moral Condition of Africa.....	6	“ the Slaver Pons.....	24
Human Sacrifices.....	7	“ 600 drowned.....	25
Idolatry.....	11	Relations of American Slavery to African Colonization.....	27
Devil Worship.....	12	Religious Views of the Pilgrims.....	27
Witchcraft.....	13	Condition of Slaves in the U. States.....	31
Polygamy.....	15	Condition of Slaves in Jamaica.....	33
Slavery of Africa.....	16	“ Cuba.....	33
Tyranny, Cruelties, Wars.....	18	“ Brazil.....	39
Cannibalism.....	20	“ Mexico.....	42
Modifications of the Slave Trade.....	21	Elements of Colonization.....	46
Origin of Slave Trade.....	21	Appendix.....	51
Slaves in a Barricoon.....	23		

LECTURE III.

Introduction.....	3	present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.....	40
Preliminary Historical Retrospect.....	5	5. That Africa is the principal field where free labor can be made to compete, successfully, with slave labor, in the production of <i>exportable</i> tropical commodities.....	45
PROPOSITIONS DISCUSSED:		6. That there are moral forces and commercial considerations now in operation, which will, necessarily, impel Christian governments to exert their influence for the civilization of Africa, and the promotion of the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia, as the principal agency in this great work; and that in these facts lies our encouragement to persevere in our colonization efforts.....	52
1. That free labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, is failing to furnish to the markets of the world, in anything like adequate quantities, those commodities upon which slave labor is chiefly employed,.....	9	7. That all these agencies and influences being brought to bear upon the civilization of Africa, from the nature of its soil, climate, products, and population, we are forced to believe that a mighty people will ultimately rise upon that continent, taking rank with the most powerful nations of the earth, and vindicate the character of the African race before the world.....	63
2. That the governments of England, France, and the United States, at the present moment, are compelled, from necessity, to consume slave labor products, to a large extent, and thus still continue to be the principal agents which aid in extending and perpetuating slavery and the slave trade.....	14	Conclusion.....	70
3. That the legislative measures adopted for the destruction of the slave trade and slavery, especially by England, have tended to increase and extend the systems they were designed to destroy.....	30		
4. That the governments named cannot hope to escape from the necessity of consuming the products of slave labor, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at			

LECTURE IV.

Facts for Thinking Men:		colonization to the extension of tropical free labor cultivation; and to show, that opposition to African colonization is opposition to the promotion and increase of free labor.
This is a synopsis of facts, chiefly embraced in the foregoing Lectures, and designed to demonstrate the indispensable necessity of		

The population of Africa is estimated at 110,000,000, in the first two Lectures. It is now usually estimated at 150,000,000. (4)

A L E C T U R E

ON

AFRICAN COLONIZATION:

INCLUDING A BRIEF OUTLINE

OF THE

SLAVE TRADE, EMANCIPATION,

RELATION OF THE

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TO ENGLAND, &c.

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

BY DAVID CHRISTY,
AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

COLUMBUS:

PUBLISHED BY J. H. RILEY & CO.,

PRINTED BY SCOTT & BASCOM.

1853.

COLUMBUS, Feb. 2d, 1849.

The undersigned members of the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, desirous of promoting the discussion of the topics connected with a provision to be made for the people of color, and that the greatest publicity should be given to the facts and statistics contained in your interesting and eloquent Lecture on African Colonization, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the 19th ult., would respectfully request a copy of the same for publication.

To DAVID CHRISTY,

AGENT, AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

GEO. HARDESTY,	C. B. GODDARD,	HENRY ROEDTER,
SAMUEL BIGGER,	F. T. BACKUS,	J. R. EMRIE,
CHAUNCEY N. OLDS,	A. J. BENNET,	JOHN GRAHAM,
SETH WOODFORD,	PINKNEY LEWIS,	FISHER A. BLOCKSOM,
R. F. HOWARD,	J. G. BRESLIN,	SAML. PATTERSON,
MILLER PENNINGTON,	DANIEL BREWER,	ISAAC HAINES,
J. HAMBLETON,	C. P. EDSON,	W. DENNISON, JUN.,
JOHN A. DODDS,	ALEX. LONG,	F. CORWIN,
TANGY JULIEN,	G. E. PUGH,	HARVEY VINAL,
WM. MORROW,	JAS. R. MORRIS,	WM. KENDALL,
JACOB MILLER,	S. L. NORRIS,	J. S. CONKLIN,
B. F. LEITER,	WM. DURBIN,	GEO. D. HENDRICKS,
LUTHER MONFORT,	JAMES M. BURT,	JOSHUA JUDY,
DAVID KING,	JAS. H. SMITH,	SAMUEL MYERS.
J. H. DUBBS,		

OXFORD, BUTLER COUNTY, OHIO, Feb. 23d.

GENTLEMEN,

Yours of the 2d inst. is received per mail. I thank you for the expression of respect tendered to myself, and the interest which you manifest in the cause of which I am the advocate. Your kind invitation to me to allow the publication of my Lecture, will afford me the opportunity, under the sanction of your names, of spreading before the public the facts which it embraces in relation to African Colonization, and may serve, it is hoped, to enlist many new friends to the cause of the young Republic of Liberia. I therefore cheerfully comply with your request.

I have taken the liberty, you will perceive, of adding another section, which time did not allow me to present in your hearing, and which was not fully matured on the evening in which you did me the honor to allow me the use of the Hall. I cannot expect that every one will agree with me in all my reasonings and conclusions, but the facts which are presented are of such importance that they cannot fail, it is believed, to arrest attention, and to lead to further investigation, and to increased efforts to promote the welfare of our colored population.

Yours respectfully,

DAVID CHRISTY,

Agt. Am. Col. Soc. for Ohio.

MESSRS. HARDESTY, BIGGER, OLDS, and others.

LECTURE

ON

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

EVER since the fall of man, and his expulsion from that Eden of bliss, assigned him in his state of innocence, a warfare has been waged between good and evil. The conflict has been varied in its results, sometimes good and at others evil having the ascendancy. But why is it that an all-wise, all-powerful, omniscient and infinitely benevolent Being should have permitted the introduction of moral evil into the world, and in his providence allow its continuance, we cannot determine, nor shall we wait to inquire.

We believe that errors of judgment and opinion, and all evil actions, and every form of wickedness and injustice in the world, have their origin in the moral depravation of man's nature, and that the contest between good and evil will necessarily continue until there shall be a moral renovation of his heart. This moral depravation of man's nature being general, its effects are universal, and the whole world has been but a theater upon which continued developments of its workings have been exhibited.

We believe that God has made provision for man's moral redemption,—for creating in him a new heart and renewing a right spirit within him—and that the Gospel is the ordinary medium through which this blessing flows to mankind. And believing this, we have full confidence in the success of all enterprises for the amelioration of the condition of mankind, which embrace the Christian religion as the basis of their operations.

The history of African slavery forms one of the darkest pages in the catalogue of woes introduced into the world by human depravity. It originated in the islands connected with this continent, in an error of judgment, but, strange to say, from motives of benevolence, and has been productive of an accumulation of human suffering which affords a most painful illustration of the want of foresight in man, and the immensity of the evils which misguided philanthropy may inflict upon our race.

In attempting to bring up in review this enormous evil in its origin and various aspects, as connected with colonization, the subject naturally divides itself into the following heads :

- I. The origin of the slave trade, with the efforts made for its suppression.
- II. The measures adopted at an early day for the emancipation of the slaves introduced into the United States, with the results.
- III. The provision to be made for the people of color when liberated.
- IV. The practicability of colonizing the free colored people of the United States.
- V. The effects of colonization on the native Africans, and upon the missionary efforts in Africa.
- VI. The certainty of success of the colonization scheme, and of the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

I. A Portuguese exploring expedition was in progress, in 1434, along the west coast of Africa, having in view the double object of conquering the Infidels and finding a passage by sea to India. Under the sanction of a bull of Pope Martin V., they had granted to them the right to all the territories they might discover, and a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering those regions to Christ and his church. Anthony Gonzales, an officer of this expedition, received at Rio del Oro, on the coast of Africa, in 1442, ten negro slaves and some gold dust in exchange for several Moorish captives, which he held in custody. On his return to Lisbon, the avarice of his countrymen was awakened by his success, and in a few years thirty ships were fitted out in pursuit of this gainful traffic. These incipient steps in the slave trade having been taken, it was continued by private adventurers until 1841, when the King of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guinea, and erected many forts on the African coast to protect himself in this iniquitous war upon human rights.

Soon after the settlement of the first colony in St. Domingo, in 1493, the licentiousness, rapacity and insolence of the Spaniards exasperated the native Indians, and a war breaking out between them, the latter were subdued and reduced to slavery. But as the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this servitude soon became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labor so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life wasted that feeble race so rapidly, that in fifteen years their numbers were reduced, by the original war and subsequent slavery, from a million to sixty thousand.

This enormous injustice awakened the sympathies of benevolent hearts, and great efforts were made by the Dominican missionaries to rescue the Indians from such cruel oppression. At length Las Casas espoused their cause; but his eloquence and all his efforts, both in the Island and in Spain, were unavailing. The impossibility, as it was supposed, of carrying on any improvements in America, and securing

to the crown of Spain the expected annual revenue of gold, unless the Spaniards could command the labor of the natives, was an insuperable objection to his plan of treating them as free subjects.

To remove this obstacle, without which it was in vain to mention his scheme, Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of Negroes, from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, to be employed as substitutes for the Indians. Unfortunately for the children of Africa, this plan of Las Casas was adopted. As early as 1503, a few Negro slaves had been sent into St. Domingo, and in 1511, Ferdinand had permitted them to be imported in great numbers. The labor of one African was found to be equal to that of four Indians. But Cardinal Ximenes, acting as Regent from the death of Ferdinand to the accession of Charles, peremptorily refused to allow of their further introduction. Charles, however, on arriving in Spain, granted the prayer of Las Casas, and bestowed upon one of his Flemish friends the monopoly of supplying the colonies with slaves. This favorite sold his right to some Genoese merchants, 1518, and they brought the traffic in slaves, between Africa and America, into that regular form which has been continued to the present time.

Thus, through motives of benevolence toward the poor oppressed native Indians of St. Domingo, did the mistaken philanthropy of a good man, co-operating with the avarice of the Christian world, entail perpetual chains and inflict unutterable woes upon the sons of Africa.

This new market for slaves having been thus created, the nations of Europe were soon found treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. 'The Genoese,' as already stated, 'had, at first, the monopoly of this new branch of commerce. The French next obtained it, and kept it until it yielded them, according to Spanish official accounts, the sum of \$204,000,000. In 1713 the English secured it for thirty years.' But Spain, in 1739, purchased the British right for the remaining four years, by the payment of \$500,000. The Dutch also participated to some extent in the traffic.

The North American Colonies did not long escape the introduction of this curse. As early as 1620, slaves were introduced by a Dutch vessel, which sailed up the James river, and sold her cargo. From that period a few slaves were introduced into North America from year to year, until the beginning of the 18th century, when Great Britain, having secured the monopoly of the slave trade, as before mentioned, prosecuted it with great activity, and made her own Colonies the principal mart for the victims of her avarice. But her North American Colonies made a vigorous opposition to their introduction. The mother country, however, finding her commercial interests greatly advanced by this traffic, refused to listen to their remonstrances, or to sanction their legislative prohibitions.

But in addition to the commercial motive which controlled the actions of England, another, still more potent, was disclosed in the declaration of the Earl of Dartmouth, in 1777, when he declared, as a reason for forcing the Africans upon the Colonies, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans:—they will be a power in our hands to

restrain the unruly Colonists." The success which a kind providence granted to the arms of the Colonists, in their struggle for independence, however, soon enabled them to control this evil, and ultimately to expel it from our coasts.

In consequence of citizens of the Colonies being involved in the traffic, in the adoption of the Constitution the period for the termination of the slave trade was prolonged until January, 1808. But Congress, in anticipation, passed a law, on March 3d, 1807, prohibiting the fitting out of any vessels for the slave trade after that date, and forbidding the importation of any slaves after January, 1808, under the penalty of imprisonment from five to ten years, a fine of \$20,000, and the forfeiture of the vessels employed therein. This act also authorized the President of the United States to employ armed vessels to cruise on the coasts of Africa and the United States to prevent infractions of the law.

On the 3d of March, 1819, another act was passed, re-affirming the former act, and authorizing the President to make provision for the safe-keeping and support of all recaptured Africans, and for their return to Africa. This movement was prompted by the exertions of the American Colonization Society, which had been organized on the first of January, 1817, and embraced among its members many of the most influential men in the nation.

On the first of March, preceding the passage of this act, a gentleman from Virginia offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, which was passed without a division, declaring that every person who should import any slave, or purchase one so imported, *should be punished with death.* The incident reveals to us, in a very unequivocal manner, the state of public sentiment at that time.

In the following year, 1820, Congress gave the crowning act to her legislation upon this subject, by the passage of the law declaring the slave trade *piracy.* This decisive measure, the first of the kind among nations, and which stamped the slave trade with deserved infamy, it should be remembered, was recommended by a committee of the House in a Report founded on a memorial of the Colonization Society. Thus terminated the *legislative measures* adopted by our Government for the suppression of the slave trade.

We shall now turn to Great Britain, the most extensive participator in this iniquitous traffic, and ascertain the success of the measures adopted for its suppression in that direction.

Through the efforts of Wilberforce and his co-adjutors, the British Parliament passed an act in 1806, which was to take effect in 1808, by which the slave trade was forever prohibited to her West India Colonies. But the want of wisdom and foresight involved in the measures adopted to accomplish this great work, soon became manifest. Had Great Britain prevailed upon or compelled Portugal and Spain to unite with her, the annihilation of the slave trade might have been effected. The traffic being abandoned by England, and left free to all others, was continued under the flags of Portugal and Spain, and their tropical colonies soon received such large accessions

of slaves, as to enable them to begin to rival Great Britain in the supply of tropical products to the markets of the world.

But the philanthropic Wilberforce persevered in his efforts, and, after a struggle of thirty years, succeeded in procuring the passage of the Act of Parliament, in 1824, declaring the slave trade piracy. This was four years after the passage of the Act of our Congress which declared it piracy, and subjected those engaged therein to the penalty of death.

This decisive action of the two Governments was hailed with joy by the philanthropists of the world, and their efforts were now put forth to influence all the other Christian powers to unite in the suppression of this horrible traffic. Their exertions were ultimately crowned with success, and their joy was unbounded. England, France, the United States, and the other Christian powers, not only declared it piracy, but agreed to employ an armed force for its suppression. This engagement, however, was not carried out by all of the Governments who had assented to the proposition; yet, still, the hope was confidently entertained that the day for the destruction of the slave trade had come, and that this reproach of Christian nations would be blotted out for ever.

But, alas, how short-sighted is man, and how futile, often, his greatest efforts to do good. The vanity of human wisdom and the utter imbecility of human legislation, in the removal of moral evil, was never more signally shown than in this grand struggle for the suppression of the slave trade. Instead of having been checked and suppressed, and the demons in human form who carried it on having been deterred from continuing the traffic by the dread penalty of death, as was confidently anticipated, it has gone on increasing in extent and with an accumulation of horrors that surpass belief. A glance at its history proves this but too fully, and shows that the warfare between good and evil is one of no ordinary magnitude.

Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, states, that the importation of slaves from Africa, in British vessels, from 1680 to 1786, averaged 20,000 annually. In 1792, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt both agreed in estimating the numbers torn from Africa at 80,000 per annum. From 1798 to 1810, recent English Parliamentary documents show the numbers exported from Africa to have averaged 85,000 per annum, and the mortality during the voyage to have been 14 per cent. From 1810 to 1815 the same documents present an average of 93,000 per annum, and the loss during the middle passage to have equalled that of the preceding period. From 1815 to 1819 the export of slaves had increased to 106,000 annually, and the mortality during the voyage to 25 per cent.

Here, then, is brought to view the extent of the evil which called for such energetic action, and which, it was hoped, could be easily crushed by legislation. Let us now look forward to the results.

While the slave trade was sanctioned by law, its extent could be as easily ascertained as that of any other branch of commerce; but after that period, the estimates of its extent are only approximations.

The late Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON devoted himself with unwearied industry to the investigation of the extent and enormities of the foreign slave trade. His labors extended through many years, and the results, as published in 1840, sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian world. He proved, conclusively, that the victims to the slave trade, in *Africa*, amounted annually to 500,000. This included the numbers who perish in the seizure of the victims, in the wars of the natives upon each other, and the deaths during their march to the coast and the detention there before embarkation. This loss he estimates at one half, or 500 out of every 1000. The destruction of life during the middle passage he estimates at 25 per cent., or 125 out of the remaining 500 of the original thousand. The mortality after landing and in seasoning he shows is 20 per cent. or one-fifth of the 375 survivors. Thus he proves that the number of lives sacrificed by the system, bears to the number of slaves available to the planter, the proportion of *seven to three*—that is to say, for every 300 slaves landed and sold in the market, 700 have fallen victims to the deprivations and cruelties connected with the traffic.

The parliamentary documents above referred to vary but little from the estimates of Mr. Buxton, excepting that they do not compute the number of victims destroyed in Africa in their seizure and transportation to the coast. The following table, extracted from these documents, presents the average number of slaves exported from Africa to America, and sold chiefly in Brazil and Cuba, with the per cent amount of loss in the periods designated.

Date.	Annual average number exported.	Av'ge casualties of voyage.	
		Per Ct.	Amount.
1798 to 1805	85,000	14	12,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14	12,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14	13,000
1815 to 1817	106,000	25	26,600
1817 to 1819	106,000	25	26,600
1819 to 1825	103,000	25	25,800
1825 to 1830	125,000	25	31,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	25	19,600
1835 to 1840	135,800	25	33,900

This enormous increase of the slave trade, it must be remembered, had taken place during the period of vigorous efforts for its suppression. England, alone, according to McQueen, had expended for this object, up to 1842, in the employment of a naval force on the coast of Africa, the sum of \$88,888,888, and he estimated the annual expenditure at that time at \$2,500,000. But it has been increased since that period to \$3,000,000 a year, making the total expenditure of Great Britain, for the suppression of the slave trade, at the close of 1848, more than *one hundred millions of dollars!* France and the United States have also expended a large amount for this object.

The disclosures of Mr. Buxton produced a profound sensation throughout England, and the conviction was forced upon the public mind, and "upon Her Majesty's confidential advisers," *that the*

slave trade could not be suppressed by physical force, and that it was "indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system calculated to arrest the foreign slave trade."

The remedy proposed and attempted to be carried out, was "*the deliverance of Africa by calling forth her own resources.*"

To accomplish this great work, the capitalists of England were to set on foot agricultural companies, who, under the protection of the Government, should obtain lands by treaty with the natives, and employ them in its tillage,—to send out trading ships and open factories at the most commanding positions,—to increase and concentrate the English naval force on the coast, and to make treaties with the chiefs of the coast, the rivers and the interior. These measures adopted, the companies formed were to call to their aid a race of teachers of African blood, from Sierra Leone and the West Indies, who should labor with the whites in diffusing intelligence, in imparting religious instruction, in teaching agriculture, in establishing and encouraging legitimate commerce, and in impeding and suppressing the slave trade. In conformity with these views and aims, the *African Civilization Society* was formed, and the Government fitted out three large iron steamers, at an expense of \$200,000, for the use of the company.

Mr. McQueen, who had for more than twenty years devoted himself to the consideration of Africa's redemption and Britain's glory, and who had become the most perfect master of African geography and African resources, also appealed to the Government, and urged the adoption of measures for making *all Africa a dependency of the British Empire*. Speaking of what England had already accomplished, and of what she could yet achieve, he exclaims:

"Unfold the map of the world: We command the Ganges. Fortified at Bombay, the Indus is our own. Possessed of the islands in the mouth of the Persian Gulf, we command the outlets of Persia and the mouths of the Euphrates, and consequently of countries the cradle of the human race. We command at the Cape of Good Hope. Gibraltar and Malta belonging to us, we control the Mediterranean. Let us plant the British standard on the island of Socatra—upon the island of Fernando Po. and inland upon the banks of the Niger; and then we may say Asia and Africa, for all their productions and all their wants, are under our control. It is in our power. Nothing can prevent us."

But Providence rebuked this proud boast. The African Civilization Society commenced its labors under circumstances the most favorable for success. Its list of members embraced many of the noblest names of the kingdom. Men of science and intelligence embarked in it, and, when the expedition set sail, a shout of joy arose and a prayer for success ascended from ten thousand philanthropic English voices.

But this magnificent scheme, fraught with untold blessings to Africa, and destined, it was believed, not only to regenerate her speedily, but to produce a revenue of unnumbered millions of dollars to the



stockholders, proved an utter failure. The African climate, that deadly foe to the white man, blighted the enterprise. In a few months, disease and death had so far reduced the numbers of the men connected with the expedition, that the enterprise was abandoned, and the only evidence of its ever having ascended the Niger exists in its model farm left in the care of a Liberian.

This result, however, had been anticipated by many of the judicious Englishmen who had not suffered their enthusiasm to overcome their judgments, but who had opposed it as wild and visionary in the extreme, on account of the known fatality of the climate to white men.

Thus did the last direct effort of England for the redemption of Africa prove abortive. The slave trade has still been prosecuted with little abatement, and for the last few years with an alarming increase. The statistics in the parliamentary report, before quoted, and from which we have extracted the table exhibiting the extent of the slave trade between Africa and America, down to 1839, also present the following table, including the numbers exported from Africa to America, from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, with the per cent. of loss in the middle passage and the amount.* It is as follows :

Years.	Numbers.	Loss. Per Ct.	Amount.
1840	64,114	25	16,068
1841	45,097	25	11,274
1842	28,400	25	7,100
1843	55,062	25	13,765
1844	54,102	25	13,525
1845	36,758	25	9,189
1846	76,117	25	19,029
1847	84,356	25	21,089

Here, then, we have the melancholy truth forced upon us, that the slave trade was carried on as actively in 1847 as from 1798 to 1810; while the destruction of life during the middle passage has been increased from 14 per cent. to 25; and that while the vigorous means used to suppress the traffic, during these fifty years, have failed of this end, they have greatly aggravated its horrors.

And such was the conviction of the total inadequacy of the means which had been employed by the British Government to check or suppress the evil, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at the close of the year 1847, after declaring that the slave trade was then more actively and systematically prosecuted than for many years, and that its horrors had been greatly increased, urged upon the Government, from motives of humanity, the suspension of all physical force, and the repeal of all laws inflicting penalties upon

* There is some discrepancy in the authorities from which we quote the figures. We have not had access to the original document. One of our authorities gives the whole number of these exports from Africa to Brazil, and a proportional number to Cuba. This would greatly increase all our estimates based upon the figures of this table.

those engaged in the traffic. It was proved that the slave traders, when closely pursued by vessels of war, often hide the evidences of their guilt, when favored by the darkness of the night, by burying the slaves with which they were freighted in the depths of the ocean; or by persevering in refusing to surrender, force the pursuing vessels to continue firing into them, and thus endanger and destroy the innocent victims crowded between the decks of their vessels. It was also urged that the African-Civilization Society be revived, but that, instead of *white men*, the emigrants be taken from the better educated and more enlightened of the West India colored population. By the adoption of this course, and the civilization of the Africans along the coast, they hope to seal the fountain whence the evil flows.

This brief outline of the slave trade, and of the efforts made by Great Britain for its suppression, and the utter failure of the measures which she had adopted to accomplish that object, prove, conclusively, two points which American philanthropists had for years urged as settled truths, viz :

1. *That the planting and building up of Christian Colonies on the coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the slave trade.*

2. *That colored men only, can with safety, settle upon the African Coast.*

And so fully has the British Government now become convinced of the truth of these propositions, that Lord Palmerston has not only placed a naval force at the disposal of the President of Liberia for the suppression of the slave trade on territory recently purchased, where the slave traders refused to leave, but has, in connection with others, offered ample pecuniary means to purchase the whole territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, now infested by those traffickers in human flesh, with the view of annexing it to the little Republic, and thus rescuing it from their hands.

By this act, Englishmen have acknowledged the superiority of our scheme of African redemption over that of the philanthropists of Britain, and have thus given assurances to the world that their plan of *making Africa a dependency of the British Crown* has been abandoned, and that a change of policy toward our colony has been adopted. All their own schemes in relation to Africa having failed, they are constrained to acknowledge the wisdom and success of ours, and are the first to avail themselves of the commercial advantages afforded to the world by the creation of the Republic of Liberia.

But we shall, under another head, revert again to this subject, and present some facts which may serve to explain the course of England in her sudden expression of friendship and sympathy for our Colony.

II. The efforts made, at an early day, for the emancipation of the slaves in the United States, with the results.

On this important question there was not the same unanimity of sentiment which had prevailed upon that of the slave trade. The love of ease, the prospect of gain, the fear that so large a body of ignorant men would be dangerous to the public peace, and many

other considerations, influenced the minds of a large number to oppose the liberation of the slaves. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the work progressed, until Acts of Emancipation were carried through the Legislatures of all the States north of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. Nor was this good work confined to the States which were engaged in legislative enactments for emancipation. The feelings of humanity which dictated the liberation of the slave in the northern States, pervaded the minds of good men in the southern States also.

The full extent of the emancipations in the slave States cannot be accurately ascertained. The census tables, however, supply sufficient testimony on this point to enable us to reach a close approximation to the true number which have been liberated since 1790, when the first census of the United States was taken.

The following table gives the number of free colored people in 1790, with the number in all the subsequent periods up to 1840, and the increase in each ten years, together with the increase per cent. per annum.

I.

Table showing the number of the Free colored population of the United States.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	59,466	108,398	186,446	238,197	319,599	386,235
Actual increase		48,932	78,048	51,751	81,402	66,636
Increase per cent. per annum		8.22+	7.20+	2.77+	3.41+	2.08+

In 1790 the feeling in favor of emancipation, it will be seen, had given us a free colored population of nearly 60,000 persons. What proportion of these were *free-born* cannot be determined, but it would probably not exceed one-half.

The number of slaves in the free States, in 1790, and the *decrease* in each period, up to 1840, with the *annual decrease per cent.* was as follows :

II.

Table exhibiting the number of Slaves in the Free States from 1790 to 1840.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820*	1830	1840
Total number	40,212	35,803	27,181	18,001	2,774	764
Actual decrease		4,409	8,622	9,180	*15,227	2,010
Decrease per cent. per annum		1.23+	3.17+	5.04+	18.88+	26.30+

The *decrease* of the slaves in the free States, after 1790, is not greater than the deaths in a population of such a class of persons.

* By a law of New York 10,000 slaves were emancipated in one day in 1827, thus decreasing the number of slaves, and increasing the free colored, as stated in this table

Pennsylvania passed her emancipation act in 1780, and the other states soon afterward followed her example, but at what periods we are not at present informed.* It is probable that the free colored population was not increased by emancipations of the slaves remaining in the free states after 1790, because, as before stated, the decrease of these slaves did not exceed the mortality, excepting in 1827, when New York liberated all hers then remaining in bondage. Any increase of the free colored population, therefore, over their natural increase will have been produced by *emancipations in the slave states*.

The following table, taken in connection with table I, shows, that from 1830 to 1840 the increase of the free colored population was reduced to but a very small fraction over *two per cent.* per annum. Two per cent. per annum, therefore, may be taken as the ratio of the natural increase of the free colored population. The excess over two per cent. must, then, have been derived from emancipations.

III.

Rate per cent. per annum of increase of Population of the United States.

Years.	Whites.	Free colored	Slaves.	Free colored and Slaves.	All combined.
1790 to 1800	3.56	8.22	2.79	3.22	3.50
1800 to 1810	3.61	7.20	3.34†	3.75	3.64
1810 to 1820	3.43	2.77	2.95	2.93	3.33
1820 to 1830	3.38	3.41	3.01	3.06	3.32
1830 to 1840	3.46	2.08	2.32	2.33	3.26
Average	3.48	4.73	2.88	3.06	3.41

Adopting this rule of computation, we find that the emancipations in the slave states, from 1790 to 1830, must have been 131,700. If to this we add one-half of the number who were free in 1790, or 30,000, it makes the total emancipations up to 1830 amount to 161,700. The extent of the *pecuniary sacrifice made to the cause of emancipation* by benevolent men involved in slavery, will be better understood by estimating the number emancipated at \$350 each, which gives a product of \$56,595,000. This estimated value is low enough.

To this sum, however, should be added the number of slaves emancipated and sent to Liberia, which, up to 1843, amounted to 2,290. If to these are added the emancipated slaves sent out to

* We find the following statement in relation to the number of slaves in the United States at an earlier period, in the American Almanac. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, the whole number of slaves was estimated at 500,000, viz.:

Massachusetts,	3,000	New Jersey,	7,600	N. Carolina,	76,000
Rhode Island,	4,370	Pennsylvania,	10,000	S. Carolina,	110,000
Connecticut,	5,000	Delaware,	9,000	Georgia,	16,000
New Hampshire,	629	Maryland,	80,000		
New York,	15,000	Virginia,	165,000	Total,	501,599.

† It should have been stated that Louisiana was admitted between 1800 and 1810, bringing in 39,000 Africans. This produced the increase of the ratio for 1810.

Africa since that period, the number of which we cannot at present ascertain, we shall have more than another million of dollars to add to the above sum, thus making the amount sacrificed to the cause of emancipation but little short of *fifty-eight millions of dollars*.

But in granting the slave his freedom, it seemed to be decided by common consent, that the British statesman was right in asserting that *Negroes could not become Republicans*. The right of suffrage was not extended to them. The stimulus of entering into competition for the highest posts of honor was not afforded to the man of color to prompt him to great mental effort. Able to find employment only in the more menial occupations, his opportunities for intellectual advancement were poor, and his prospects of moral improvement still more gloomy.

These results of emancipation in the northern states were watched with great interest by the philanthropic citizens of the slave states. The liberation of the slaves in the free states had fallen so far short of securing the amount of good anticipated, that the friends of the colored man became less urgent and zealous in their efforts to secure further legislative action, while the opponent of the measure was furnished with a new argument to sustain him in his course of hostility to emancipation, and was soon able to secure the passage of laws for its prohibition, under the specious plea that a large increase of the free colored population by emancipation could not be productive of good either to themselves or to the whites.

That some powerful cause operated in checking emancipations after 1810, and that it again received a new impulse from 1820 to 1830, is undeniable. The number emancipated in the slave states, during the several periods, as is determined by the rule before adopted, was as follows :

1790 to 1800	emancipations were	37,042
1800 to 1810	“ “	36,414
1810 to 1820	“ “	14,471
1820 to 1830	“ “	33,772*
1830 to 1840	“ “	000

From 1790 to 1810 some of the most powerful minds in the nation were directed to the consideration of the enormous evils of slavery, and the effects of their labors are exhibited in the number of emancipations made during that period. The decline of emancipations after 1810, we believe to be due to the cause assigned above—the little benefit, apparently, which had resulted from the liberation of the slaves, and the consequent relaxation of effort by the friends of emancipation.

The impulse given to emancipation between 1820 and 1830, it is believed, was caused by the favorable influences exerted by the Colonization Society, which enjoyed a great degree of popularity during this period. But from 1830 to 1840, the period when the Society had the fewest friends, the increase of the free colored

*The 10,000 emancipated in New York being deducted, will leave 23,772 in this period.

population was reduced to only two per cent. per annum, showing that emancipations must have nearly ceased, or that the deaths among our free colored people are so nearly equal to the births, that some decisive measures are demanded, by considerations of humanity, to place them under circumstances more favorable than they at present enjoy.

It may be well in this place to call attention to the fact, that while the natural increase of our free colored population *cannot exceed two per cent.* per annum, that of the slaves, notwithstanding the numerous emancipations, has been *three per cent.* per annum, excepting in the first period, when the disparity in the sexes produced by the slave trade might produce a greater mortality than would afterward occur; and in the last period, between 1830 and 1840, during which the great revulsions in business, producing an immense number of bankruptcies in the south, caused thousands of embarrassed debtors to remove their slaves to Texas, beyond the reach of their creditors. The slaves thus removed, not being included in the census of 1840, caused a reduction in the ratio of our slave increase. See table III.

Thus we find, that in the earlier periods of our history, the promptings of philanthropy and the influence of Christian principle produced a public sentiment which controlled legislation, and broke the chain of the slave. And where legislation failed, it operated with equal power on the hearts of men, and produced the same salutary effects. But while emancipation was found to have produced to the white man the richest fruits, it was observed, with painful feelings, that to the colored man it had been productive of little else than the "Apples of Sodom."

These results of emancipation led to anxious inquiries in relation to the disposal of the free colored population. It was all-important, in the judgment of the friends of the colored man, that he should be placed under circumstances where the degradation of centuries might be forgotten, and where he might become an honor to his race and a benefactor to the world. The conviction forced itself upon their minds, *that a separate political organization—a Government of his own, where he would be free in fact as well as in name*—was the only means by which they could fully discharge the debt due to him, and place him in a position where his prospects of advancement would be based upon a sure foundation.

These remarks bring us to the consideration of the third branch of our subject.

III. The provision to be made for the people of color when liberated.

A separate political organization was decided upon, and Colonization, at a distant point, beyond the influence of the whites, considered the only means of future security to the colored man. To select the field for the founding of the future African Empire was not such an easy task. The history of the Indian tribes had proved, but too forcibly, that an establishment upon the territory of the United States

would soon become unsafe, in consequence of the rapid and universal extension of the white population. The unsettled state of the South American Republics was considered as offering still less security. Europe had no room for them, nor desire to possess them. England has already removed those cast upon herself and her Canadian possessions, by the casualties of war, back again to Africa, and founded her Colony of Sierra Leone. The only remaining point was Africa. Its western coast was of most easy access, being but little further from us than Havre or Liverpool. The condition of its native population offered many obstacles to the establishment of a colony. But the inducements to select it as the field of the enterprise in contemplation were also many. It was the land of the fathers of those who were to emigrate. It was deeply sunk in both moral and intellectual darkness. The lowest rites of Pagan worship were widely practised. Human sacrifices extensively prevailed, and even cannibalism often added its horrors to fill up the picture of its dismal degradation. And, as though the Spirit of Evil had resolved on concentrating in one point all the enormities that could be invented by the fiends of the nether pit, the slave trade was added to the catalogue, to stimulate the worst passions of the human heart, and produced developments of wickedness and of cruelty, at the bare recital of which humanity shudders. Except a few points, no ray of moral light, to guide to a blissful eternity, had yet penetrated the more than midnight moral darkness which had for ages shrouded the land. The deadly influence of the climate, together with the interference of the slave trade, had hitherto defeated the success of missionary effort, and there seemed to be no hope for the moral renovation of Africa but through the agency of men of African blood, whose constitutions could become adapted to the climate, and who could thus gain a foothold upon the continent, repel the slave traders, and introduce civilization and the gospel.

Here, then was a field for the action of the freed-men of the United States. Here was a theater upon which to exhibit before the world the capacities of the colored race. Here, too, could be solved the problem of the value of the republican form of government. And, above all, here could be fully tested the regenerating, the elevating, and the humanizing power of the gospel of Christ.

In commencing the settlement of a colony of colored persons on the coast of Africa, two objects were to be accomplished:

1. To improve the condition of the free colored people of the United States.
2. To civilize and christianize Africa.

To these objects the friends of the colored man devoted themselves. The first emigrants were sent out in 1820. The pecuniary means of the society were never very great, and its progress in sending out emigrants and in building up the colony has necessarily been slow. From the first it met with violent opposition from the slave traders on the coast of Africa, who, by creating the impression upon the minds of the natives that the colonists would prevent their further connection,

with the slave trade, and thus cut off their chief source of acquiring wealth, inflamed the minds of the chiefs, and prompted them to make war upon the colonists. Soon after the settlement of the colony, the native warriors, one thousand strong, attacked the emigrants, who numbered but thirty-five effective men. But a kind Providence shielded them from the infuriated savages who assailed them, and enabled that handful of men to defeat their foes, in two successive assaults, separated from each other by several weeks of time, and, finally, to establish themselves in peace in all their borders.

Additional emigrants, from year to year, were sent out. Missionaries labored, with more or less faithfulness, in establishing schools and in preaching the gospel. The natives, in a few years, became convinced that the colonies were their true friends, and that the adoption of civilized habits would secure to them greater comforts than could be obtained by a continuation of the slave trade. Their children were sent to school with those of the colonists. A moral renovation commenced and progressed until, in the course of twenty-six years from the landing of the first emigrants at Monrovia, the colony attained a condition of strength warranting its erection into an Independent Republic. Accordingly, in July, 1847, its independence was declared, and a population of 80,000 adopted the constitution and laws, and became members of the Republic. Its newly-elected President, J. J. ROBERTS, a man of color, in his recent visit to England, France and Germany, was treated with great respect, and found no difficulty in securing the acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Liberia by the two former governments.

But it may be said, that, after all, but little has been done, compared with the means expended, in this effort to make provision for the free colored people, and for the introduction of a Christian civilization into Africa. A more striking view of the results will be brought out by contrasting the products of the labors of the American Colonization Society with some of the other efforts which have been made to rescue Africa from the wrongs inflicted upon her.

England, mighty in power, and possessing the means of executing magnificent enterprises, has expended, as already stated, more than one hundred millions of dollars for the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa. But her labors and her treasures have been spent in vain. Her gold might better have been sunk in the ocean. The monster, hydra-like, when smitten and one head severed from the body, has constantly reproduced two in its place; and, at this moment, as before shown, it is prosecuted with greater activity than for many years.

It must be remembered that these efforts of Great Britain have been made during the period of the existence of the American Colonization Society, and in seeming contempt of its pigmy efforts. For years previous to the independence of Liberia, and while England was aiming at making Africa a dependency of her Crown, she, on several occasions, manifested a disposition to cripple the energies of our colony. And so extensive were the agencies she seems to have

employed, that it is now matter of wonder that she had not succeeded in wholly crushing the colonization enterprise, and securing to herself the control of that richest of all the tropical portions of the world. But all her efforts at checking the progress of this heaven-born enterprise have been as fruitless as those adopted by her in reference to the slave trade, or for civilizing Africa. The fact stands acknowledged before the world, that Great Britain, after the expenditure of more than one hundred millions of dollars, has failed in suppressing the slave trade on one mile of coast beyond the limits of her colonies; while our colonization efforts have swept it from nearly *four hundred miles* of coast, where it formerly existed in its chief strength.

But why is it that there is such a marked indifference in the results? Why is it that the Colonization Society, with a yearly income sometimes of only \$10,000, and rarely ever reaching \$50,000, should have, in twenty-six years, annihilated the slave trade on 400 miles of coast, and secured the blessings of freedom to 80,000 men, formerly slaves, and have succeeded in binding, by treaties, 200,000 more, never again to engage in the traffic in their brethren,—while Great Britain, with all her wealth and power, has accomplished nothing?

We will not undertake to answer these questions. It cannot always be discerned by men why the Ruler of the Universe often defeats the best devised human schemes, which to them may seem certain of success; and prospers those which, to human foresight, were the least promising. We need only remind you that Great Britain has relied, almost exclusively, upon the employment of *physical force* to accomplish her purposes, while the Colonization Society has depended, as exclusively, upon *moral means*. The agencies it has employed have been the humble mechanic, the husbandman, the school-master, the missionary, and the Bible. And, though often thwarted in its purposes by those who felt interested in its overthrow, yet, relying upon moral means, and never resorting to force but in self-defense, it has signally triumphed and put to shame the wisdom of men and the power of kingdoms. Its operations have proved that the schoolmaster, the missionary, and the Bible, possess a moral power infinitely more potent than coronets and crowns.

These results go very far toward proving the truth of the proposition, announced in the outset,—that the Gospel of Christ is the medium through which God operates in bringing mankind into subjection to his will, and that a reliance upon any other means for the moral redemption of the nations of the world, must prove an utter failure.

In view of all these results, we are fully warranted in maintaining that the Colonization Society, in its measures for benefitting the colored people, has done an incalculable amount of good, and demands our confidence and our support, and that it is justly entitled to the paternity of three measures which have been productive of the greatest good to Africa:

1. The procuring of the first legal enactments declaring the slave trade piracy.

2. The total extinction of that cruel traffic from near 400 miles of the coast of Africa.

3. The establishment of an Independent Christian Republic on that continent.

There is another feature of this question, of the disposal of the free colored population of the United States, which demands attention, and is of the utmost importance in selecting for them a home. *The northern latitudes of the United States do not furnish a suitable home for men of African descent.* The evidence of the truth of this proposition is furnished by their own movements when left free to act. The census tables supply the testimony upon this subject.

By referring to table III, it will be seen that the ratio of the natural increase of the free colored population is *two* per cent. per annum. The knowledge of this fact furnishes the key to determine the increase or decrease, by emigration, in any state or group of states.

IV.

Free colored population in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont.

YEARS.	1799.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Total number	13,126	17,317	19,488	21,248	21,331	22,634
Actual increase		4,191	2,171	1,760	83	1,303
Increase per cent. per annum		3.19	1.25	0.90	0.03	0.61
Slaves in do.	3,886	1,340	418	145	48	23

In the prosecution of the investigation of the question before us, *the effect of climate upon the African constitution*, we find that previous to 1790, the desire of the manumitted slave to escape from the scenes of his oppressions had given to the six New England states a free colored population of 13,126. From 1790 to 1800 the census tables show that the line of emigration was still northward, and augmented their ratio of increase more than one-third over the natural rate. But during the next forty years, ending with 1840, their ratio of increase, as shown in table IV, was rapidly diminished, and fell so far below the ratio of their natural increase, that from 1820 to 1830, with a free colored population of 21,248, they had an increase in these ten years of only *eighty-three* persons. The aggregate for the whole period stands thus: In 1810 they had a free colored population of 19,488, and in 1840 but 22,634, being an increase of only 3,146; while their natural increase, if retained, would have augmented their numbers to 33,648. This diminution must have been caused by emigration back again toward the south, because we find that New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had a corresponding increase during this period, with the exception of the last ten years, when they also lost a portion of their natural increase.

But this tendency of colored men to avoid northern latitudes is quite as fully proved by a comparison of the northern parts of New

York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, with their southern portions, as it is exhibited in the case of the New England States, when compared with those further south. Take, for example, a few of the counties in the north-east of Ohio. In 1840, Geauga had only 3 persons of color, Ashtabula 17, Lake 21, Portage 39, Summit 42, Medina 13, Lorain 62, Trumbull 70, and Cuyahoga, including the city of Cleveland, 121, in all 388. Now look at a few of the counties bordering the slave states and in the more southern part of the state. Belmont, in 1840, had 724, Gallia 799, Highland 786, Brown 614, Ross 1195, Franklin 805, and Hamilton 2546.

This contrast, which might be extended much further, reveals the fact, that any *one* of the last named counties, in the southern portion of the state, had nearly double, and several of them *more than double the number* of colored persons that the whole *eight* northern counties above named included.

But to give a more forcible illustration of the truth of our proposition, allow me to extend this contrast between the northern and southern counties of Ohio, so as to include the whole free colored population of the state. By drawing a line east and west across the state, so as to divide its territory into about equal parts, giving an excess of counties, as now divided, to the north, the result is, that in 1840, the 38 northern counties, now divided into 42, included only 2,360 persons of color, while the 40 counties of the southern half embraced a colored population of 15,000. And if we deduct Stark, Columbiana and Harrison on the east, and Mercer on the west, from the northern counties, they will have left, in the 36 remaining counties, a free colored population of only 1372, or a little more than half the number in Hamilton county. I append the list of all the counties, that it may be accessible to those who may wish to prosecute this investigation.*

After making all due allowance for the alledged defect of energy in the colored man, as accounting for his not seeking a residence in the north; and what has still more influence on his mind—the greater indulgence which he finds from the planter of the south, now settled in our more southern counties, than he does from the northern man who is a stranger to his habits,—there is, we affirm, ample testimony to prove, that the northern latitudes of the United States do not furnish a suitable climate for men of African blood, and that they are congregating as far south as circumstances will permit. This fact, we insist, proves conclusively the necessity of securing a tropical home for colored men.

But in addition to all the foregoing details, which prove the inadaptation of northern latitudes to the African, we have, very recently, the fact revealed to us in a late census of Upper Canada, that in that province, where we had been a thousand times assured that from 20,000 to 25,000 runaway slaves from the United States had found refuge, there were, in 1847, barely 5,571 colored persons in the

*See Note, page 21.

colony. In this statement, however, which includes the whole twenty districts, there may be an error in one of them which may vary this result.

But I cannot dismiss this part of our subject without a few remarks. The citizens of our northern counties often charge us, of the southern, with being destitute of the ordinary feelings of humanity and benevolence, because we are disposed to discourage the further immigration of colored men into the state, and because we advocate a separation of the races by colonization. And this they do with an apparent seriousness that warrants us in concluding that they believe what they say. Perhaps if we had only *three* to a county, like old

The following statement, referred to on the previous page, gives the colored population of Ohio in the several counties, commencing at the northern and southern extremities, as presented in the census of 1840.

Hamilton,	2576	Ashtabula,	17
Clermont,	122	Lake,	21
Brown,	614	Geauga,	3
Adams,	63	Cuyahoga,	121
Scioto,	206	Trumbull,	70
Lawrence,	148	Portage,	39
Gallia,	799	Summit,	42
Meigs,	28	Medina,	13
Jackson,	315	Lorain,	62
Pike,	329	Erie,	97
Highland,	786	Huron,	106
Butler,	251	Sandusky,	41
Warren,	341	Ottawa,	5
Clinton,	377	Seneca,	65
Ross,	1195	Wood,	32
Hocking,	46	Lucas,	54
Athens,	55	Henry,	6
Washington,	269	Williams,	2
Monroe,	13	Paulding,	0
Morgan,	68	Van Wert,	0
Perry,	47	Mercer,	204
Fairfield,	312	Allen,	23
Pickaway,	333	Hancock,	8
Fayette,	239	Hardin,	4
Greene,	344	Marion,	52
Clark,	200	Crawford,	5
Montgomery,	376	Richland,	65
Preble,	88	Wayne,	41
Darke,	200	Holmes,	3
Miami,	211	Stark,	204
Shelby,	262	Carroll,	49
Logan,	407	Columbiana,	417
Champaign,	328	Harrison,	163
Madison,	97	Tuscarawas,	71
Franklin,	805	Coshocton,	38
Licking,	140	Knox,	63
Muskingum,	562	Delaware,	76
Guernsey,	190	Union,	78
Belmont,	742	Morrow,	
Jefferson,	497	Mahoning,	
		Auglaize,	
		Defiance,	

Geauga, we, too, might be disposed to catch them for *pets*, to amuse our children, as we do mocking birds and paroquets. But with us the novelty of seeing a colored man has long since passed away, and we no longer make pets of them, *on account of color*, but treat them precisely as we do other men. The upright and industrious we respect and encourage. The immoral and degraded we wish anywhere else than in our households or as near neighbors.

V.

Free colored population in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	13,953	29,340	55,668	74,742	101,103	118,925
Actual increase		15,387	26,328	19,074	26,321	17,822
Increase per cent. per annum		11.02	8.97	3.42	3.54	1.76
Slaves in do.	36,484	34,471	26,663	17,856	2,732	742

But in addition to *climate*, the colored man has another formidable adversary to contend with. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as before stated, and as the figures in table V show us, had accessions to their colored population much beyond the natural increase on their original numbers up till 1830. But from 1830 to 1840 these states also commenced repelling their free colored population, and their ratio of increase was reduced considerably below *two* per cent. per annum—Pennsylvania, however, still having a ratio of $2\frac{61}{100}$, showing that she had not been as much affected as the other two states, though between 1820 and 1830 her ratio had been reduced to $1\frac{79}{100}$ per cent. per annum.

VI.

Free colored population of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	24,718	47,973	77,633	89,817	116,141	128,781
Actual increase		23,261	29,654	12,184	26,324	12,640
Increase per cent. per annum		9.41	6.13	1.55	2.93	1.08
Slaves	405,350	457,584	508,197	537,060	576,043	530,087

VII.

Free colored population of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	7,174	11,247	16,621	23,205	29,950	33,761
Actual increase		4,073	5,374	6,584	6,745	3,811
Increase per cent. per annum		5.67	4.77	3.96	2.90	1.27
Slaves	236,930	338,851	470,407	613,148	778,533	853,799

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, also repulsed nearly one-half of their natural increase between 1830 and 1840, as exhibited in tables VI and VII, showing that the emigration from the northern states was not passing in that direction.

VIII.

Free colored population of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	475	1,050	3,030	6,353	11,041	14,880
Actual increase		575	1,980	3,323	3,691	3,836
Increase per cent. per annum		12.10	18.85	10.96	7.35	3.47
Slaves	15,247	53,927	125,096	254,278	424,365	618,849

Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, though for a time, receiving large accessions of free colored people emigrating, probably, from Virginia and North Carolina, westward into their bounds, seem also to have checked it, between 1830 and 1840, to a considerable extent. But as more energetic measures have since been adopted to repel all immigration, extending even to *the selling of the intruders into slavery*, as was the case last year in Kentucky; the census of 1850 will no doubt exhibit a reduction of the ratio of these states, also, to the natural rate of increase, if not below it.

Louisiana, alone, of all the larger slave states, has maintained a uniform increase of her free colored population. Her position on the Mississippi affords great facilities to enterprising colored men, wishing to escape from the rigors of northern winters, to penetrate her territory.

IX.

Free colored population of Louisiana.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number			7,585	10,960	16,710	25,502
Actual increase				3,375	5,750	8,792
Increase per cent. per annum				4.44	5.24	5.26
Slaves			34,660	69,064	109,588	168,452

In the slave states, the prejudices and the rigid laws in relation to their free colored people, will account for the losses which they have sustained. But in New York and New Jersey, some other cause must have exerted a repelling influence, or there would not have been such a desertion of that region by colored men. This cause will, we believe, be found to exist in the *foreign emigration* into our country. The foreign emigrant, escaping from the tyranny of the despotisms which have so long crushed his energies, and where he had been accustomed to work for a mere subsistence, is overjoyed, on reaching this country, to receive a rate of wages for which the colored man is unwilling to labor. He is thus the most

formidable rival of the colored man, and supplants him in his employments and drives him from his temporary home. But while this *rivalry of the foreigner, the prejudice of the slave holder, and the influence of climate*, seem to create insuperable obstacles to the success of any scheme of securing to colored men a permanent home in the north, it affords a strong proof of the wisdom of the scheme of African Colonization, where the rivalry of white men and the influence of climate, or the prejudice against color, can never reach him or interrupt him in his pursuits.

But there is still another subject connected with the movements of the free colored people which greatly interests the citizens of Ohio. We have seen that a regular movement of the free colored population, from north to south, has been in progress ever since 1800, and that it was only checked, in its southern course, by reaching the borders of the slave states. But after 1830 this floating mass took a new direction. As the foreign emigration first touches the eastern coast, its effects are first felt there, and from thence it rolls westward. While the current of the colored emigration, therefore, is setting in from the north, it is met by this opposing tide from the east, and deflected to the west.

On turning to the west, we find that while this continuous stream of colored emigration has been pouring out of all the states north-east, east, and south-east of us, they have been concentrating with almost equal rapidity in the Ohio valley.

X.

Free colored population in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number		500	2,905	6,598	14,834	28,105
Actual increase			2,405	3,693	8,236	13,271
Increase per cent. per annum			48.10	12.71	12.48	8.94

Look at the figures in table X. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in 1800, had 500 free persons of color in their bounds. In 1840 they numbered 28,105. If the influx, since 1840, has been as great as in the preceding period, these three states will have a free colored population, at present, of over 50,000, of which the share of Ohio is 30,000.

To afford a more striking contrast of the position in which we stand, as compared with the six New England States, it is only necessary to say, that the ratio of the annual increase of the free colored population of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, from 1820 to 1830, *doubled their numbers in eight years*, while that of the former six states would require, to double theirs, a period of *two hundred and fifty six years*.

But to avoid a charge of unfairness in selecting a period of only ten years, and that the most favorable to our purpose, we shall extend the contrast to forty years, from 1840 back to 1800, and the result is

still more startling. During this period of forty years, the six New England States did not increase their colored population quite one third, (it was $\frac{3.0}{10.0}$) while Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, have *doubled fifty-five times* on their original numbers. Our increase, therefore, when compared with theirs for a period of forty years, stands as 55 to $\frac{1}{3}$.

Here, now, is presented a condition of things which demands the attention of the Legislature and the people of Ohio. We have, for years, been disposed to evade the question of the provision to be made for the people of color. The causes operating to concentrate them in the Ohio valley are beyond our control, and they must continue to congregate here. Nor can we check this movement by any ordinary precautions, were we disposed to make the effort, because we cannot, by any legislation of ours, reach the causes which compel them to leave the other states. We cannot change the climate of the north-east, nor mold the African constitution so that it may endure the rigors of its winters; and much less can we impart to the colored man a spirit of energy and activity in business which shall enable him to compete with the New Englander. We are still less able to roll back the mighty wave of foreign emigration, which, annually, supplies to the east a surplus of cheap labor, and drives the man of color from his employments, and compels him to wander to the west in search of bread. And it is still more impracticable for us to induce the slave states to repeal the laws and give up the prejudices which drive out the free colored man from amongst them. The colored people, if disposed, cannot extend westward and southward. The iron wall of slavery and the prohibitions in the new constitutions of Illinois and Iowa, will prevent emigration in that direction. They are, therefore, shut up, imprisoned among us, and instead of any diminution, we must prepare for an increase of their numbers.

It is a fact well understood, that in the slave states, no movement, *involving emancipation to any great extent, can now take place except in connection with the removal of the freedmen from among them.* Some of them at present talk of emancipation and colonization in Africa, but if we should open our doors as widely as many desire, the slave holder need not tax himself with the expense of the passage of his slaves to Liberia. It will be cheaper and less troublesome to let them alone, and they will soon put themselves under the care of their loving brothers across the Ohio river. And, in adopting this course, the slave holder may feel that he is conferring a favor upon us, because, on several occasions, where masters had emancipated their slaves, and started them for Liberia, they have been persuaded to escape to Ohio or Pennsylvania.

Several of the border states will, before many years, become free states, because of the growing conviction among the people that the presence of slaves upon their soil has created a blighting influence—that it has paralyzed the physical and moral energies of the white youth—that until the slaves are removed, the sons of their yeomanry will not engage in field labor, and that until this revolution is effected

the slave states cannot prosper as the free states have done. They are further convinced that the presence of colored people, as *free laborers*, will exert equally as baneful an effect upon the industry of the whites, as the presence of the slave has done. We have failed, in a twenty years war of words, to change these opinions. They know that their sons scorn the idea of laboring upon an equality with men of servile origin. This may all be wrong, but that does not alter the fact. The people of the slave states will never consent to emancipation, but in connection with the removal of the freedmen. This is their fixed purpose: and any measure for the melioration of the condition of the colored man which does not include this fact, and adapt itself to it, will be so far defective.

Now, it seems evident, that to whatever extent emancipation may take place, whether by individuals or by states; and further, to whatever degree the slave states may carry their hostility to the free colored people among them, and succeed in driving them out; to the same extent may we expect to be made the receivers of the unfortunate wanderers, unless we can divert the current of emigration in some other direction.

With all these facts before us—the influence of climate—the rivalry of the foreign emigrant—the prejudices of the slave holder—the adverse legislation of the slave states—the rapid concentration of the free colored people along the southern margin of the Ohio valley—and the impracticability of their emigrating further south or west—it must be apparent, at once, that we occupy a very different position from that of the New England States and the northern counties of Ohio. We are constantly receiving large accessions from the slave states. Many of our towns and villages have had their colored population doubled since 1840, and there is no prospect, at present, of their influx being checked.

The Ohio Black Laws, though designed, originally, to operate as a check upon colored immigration, have wholly failed of their object, and have only added another to the numerous inefficient measures adopted for protection against the evils generated by slavery—evils so numerous and complicated, that, often the remedies applied only increase the malady.

And here we must be allowed to remark, that few men can excel our northern friends in depicting the horrors of slavery. They have studied it chiefly in that point of view. Its degrading and brutifying tendencies, generating vices the most debasing and instructive, have been portrayed, but too truly, in our hearing, by them, a thousand times. They, of course, expect us to believe their statements and to adopt their views of the odiousness of the system.

Now, in return, we ask of them that they shall believe us. And if one half they have told us be true, in relation to the low state of morals—the deep and damning depravity of the victims of slavery—then visit us with the plague, or any other *physical calamity*, rather than bring this *moral pestilence* into contact with our children. We speak but the common sentiment of the great mass of our citizens.

These sentiments are not generated by hostile feelings to the colored man, any more than the missionary, who wishes to guard well the virtues of his children and impart to them a nobility of thought and sentiment, should be charged with hating the degraded Hindoo or Hottentot, for whose intellectual and moral elevation he risks his life, because he sends his children back to a Christian country to be educated by Christian friends.

Many of the first settlers of southern Ohio had fled from Virginia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas, to rear their families beyond the reach of the demoralizing effects of slavery, and in the enactment of the Black Laws they hoped to erect an impassable barrier between themselves and slavery, or any of its fruits.

It was not prejudice against color, alone, that dictated the passage of the Black Laws of Ohio, and which has kept them so long upon our statute book, but it was a dictate of self-preservation. It was a determination to confine slavery, with all its fruits, within the limits where it existed, and to guard themselves and their children against moral contamination by contact with those unfortunate beings whose deplorable degradation has been so eloquently, and often, but too truly delineated to us.

A repeal of the Black Laws may be proper;* some modification of them, at least, is demanded. But it forms no part of the task assigned us to express an opinion on the subject. This much, however, we can say, that something more is needed than the repeal of these laws, before the colored man can have justice done him, or the public mind be satisfied with the posture of affairs.

Nor can we be persuaded that he who rarely ever sees a colored person, and who knows nothing of the unfavorable circumstances in which a majority of the colored people are placed, where they are congregated in large numbers, is the proper man to mature measures for their relief. He has not the opportunity of forming a practical judgment in the case, and his schemes, therefore, will be more apt to partake of the *visionary* than the *practicable*.

But we are told that it is our duty to labor for the elevation and improvement of the colored man, and thus prepare him for citizenship. In reply, it is only necessary to say, that of the importance of this duty the friends of colonization are fully aware, and to discharge it is their direct and proposed aim; but through the unhappy opposition of their enemies, in this good work, who have assumed to be exclusively the friends of the man of color, inducing him to believe that we are his "*inveterate enemies*," we have been, to a great extent, excluded from that access to him requisite to the fulfillment of our wishes. The colored people, therefore, are not accessible to us, and the responsibility of their improvement does not rest upon us, but upon those who have them in charge. And even if they were accessible to us, and we had their confidence, should the emigration from the other states continue to be as rapid as heretofore, the execution

*This lecture was written before their repeal by the present Legislature.

of the task of their education would be a burthen too heavy for Ohio to bear. But had we the means, the circumstances of inequality, to which reference has already been made, and which neither authoritative legislation nor the resolves of voluntary associations can remedy, forbid the hope of giving that form and measure of education requisite to qualify any man for the high duties and enjoyments of citizenship.

What then can we do? No large body of men will long remain contented in the bosom of any community or nation, unless in the enjoyment of equal social and political rights. Ignorant, and vicious, and lazy men are dangerous in any community; because, not understanding their true interests, and but little inclined to do their duty, they are easily turned into an engine of evil to society. Our own peace and safety, therefore, demand that we should secure to our colored people *the blessings of education and the advantages of political equality*.

But we firmly believe that the first of these objects, the education of the free colored people, can only be accomplished under circumstances where the colored man can, by the labor of his own hands, provide for his own wants, while he is prosecuting his studies. And we as fully believe, that such a combination of circumstances as will make the thorough education of our colored people practicable, exists only in Liberia. In that climate winter makes no demands, and the labor of one man will easily support three. Schools are already organized, and every parent is required by law to educate his children. In a climate, like ours, however, demanding almost constant labor during summer to provide for winter, and where schools are accessible to but few of the colored people, there is but little to encourage the hope that their education can become general. To this conclusion intelligent colored men themselves have arrived, and the erection of the *Colored Manual Labor School*, near Columbus, Ohio, where 200 acres of land have been secured for this object, and paid for, chiefly, by contributions from colored men—where education and labor can go hand in hand—shows the strength of the hold which this conviction has upon their minds. But the advantages of such an institution cannot be enjoyed by very many. At most, only a few hundreds can be accommodated at the same time. Such an institution, therefore, while it may be of immense advantage to a few, cannot be relied upon to secure general education; and advantageous as it may be to those few, still it will be very partial; far from reaching that high education which gives *character*, and without which, for the standing and happiness of the citizen, mere learning is, comparatively, of little value.

We are also as fully convinced that it will be equally as impracticable, as their general education, to secure to our free colored people the advantages of *political equality* any where else than in the Republic of Liberia, or in a new one of their own creation upon that continent.

That the free colored population of our country can be raised to that degree of moral and intellectual elevation which they should possess, without the enjoyment of all the social and political privileges which are the natural birthright of man, none will pretend to

claim. These blessings must be secured to them before any material advancement can be expected from them. But the opposition to granting them equal social and political privileges in Ohio is a "fixed fact." It is believed that no permanent good to the colored man could grow out of such a measure. *The granting to him the right of suffrage has been productive of no good in the states which have conceded to him that privilege.* Instead of increasing their free colored population, since that act of liberality, these states have had a regular diminution of it. The right of suffrage to the colored man, where the whites have a large preponderance of numbers, seems of about the same utility as the tin rattle, or little doll, presented to the discontented child, to amuse it and keep it from crying.

It is the settled conviction of nearly all our thinking men, that colored men, intellectually, morally, or politically, can no more flourish in the midst of the whites, than the tender sprout from the bursting acorn can have a rapid advance to maturity beneath the shade of the full-grown oak; while the light of the sun, so essential to its growth, penetrates not through the thick foliage to impart its invigorating influences to the humble tenant of the soil; and where, each day, it is liable to be crushed under the feet of those who seek shelter from the noon-day heat beneath the boughs of its lordly superior.

This is no overwrought picture of the condition of the free colored people among us. Those stimulants to mental and moral effort, which beget such a superiority in citizens of free governments, reach not to the mind of the colored man, to rouse him to action. And so fully convinced of this fact are intelligent colored men themselves becoming, that they are beginning to act in concert in reference to securing the necessary territory to adopt a separate political organization. This affords strong grounds for hoping that the day of their political redemption is dawning. Heretofore they have been deluded with the hope that their elevation would be effected among the whites; that hope is now fading from their minds. The adoption of measures to secure a distinct political organization is an acknowledgment of the truth, *that a separation from the whites is essential to the prosperity of the colored man, and that colonization at some point* offers to him his only hope of deliverance. This is an important step in the progress toward a settlement of this vexed question.

It is true, that, at present, an eye is turned, by many of those who are agitating this subject, toward a grant of land from congress out of the territory acquired from Mexico. As this is the only territory now at the disposal of congress, and as the question of its future ownership will be settled during the next year, at furthest, there will soon be a decision of that matter. Out of that territory, if any where on the continent, must the donation of lands be made for the future African state. And upon it, or to Liberia, must the wave of emigration roll when it recedes from our borders.

Here, then, we perceive that this question is assuming a new and definite form. *A separate political organization* is desired by many of the colored men. But they think Liberia is too distant, and too

unhealthy, and therefore wish a grant out of New Mexico or California. There is, perhaps, not a man in this audience, nor in the north, who would object to such a grant for such a purpose, so far as the grant of United States' property is concerned. Your speaker, for his part, is willing to raise up both hands and shout at the topmost pitch of his voice, in the ears of congress, to secure it, if he thought it could be obtained, and that it would, to the occupant, be a peaceful possession, and safe for the country. But he believes it is idle, it is wicked, longer to keep the poor colored man pursuing phantoms which always must elude his grasp. We say, frankly, that we have no hope that such a grant of territory can be had from congress. And even if it could, dare we hope that it would prove a peaceful home, such as prudent Christian men would wish to leave as a legacy to their children? Its proximity to the slave states, it is feared, might lead to continual collisions.

It is useless, however, to discuss this question, because, whenever our intelligent colored men are put in possession of the facts in relation to Liberia, they must greatly prefer it to any point on this continent.

We are aware that some of the colored orators declaim loudly against any attempts to persuade the free colored people to emigrate to Africa, while *three millions* of their brethren remain behind in slavery. Now, it is very natural that a benevolent heart should dictate such feelings, and we must respect their motives. But we would remind all such objectors to emigration to Liberia, that while three millions of their brethren are enchained here, there are, according to the best authorities, one hundred and ten millions in Africa, *eighty millions* of whom are of their own caste, including, no doubt, their own blood relations, who are mostly crushed under a system of oppression and of cruelty, and reduced to a condition of moral degradation, compared with which, American slavery, with all its woes, is bliss itself. These eighty millions of men are nearly all destitute of the gospel of Christ, and, consequently, *without the elements of an intellectual and moral renovation*. The sale of their brethren into slavery, excepting in a few sunny spots, illuminated by Christian colonies, still continues with all its attendant horrors. The slave trade, baffling the utmost exertions for its suppression, is still prosecuted with unabated vigor. 'Its wretched victims are still found wedged together in the foul and close recesses of the slave ships, with scarcely space enough to each for the heart to swell in the agony of its despair.' All hope that it can be suppressed by operations *on the ocean* are at an end. It must be assailed where it originated,—*on the land*. The instrumentality to be employed must be that which the result of long experience dictates,—*the gospel*. The agents to perform this great work are as clearly designated—*colored Christian colonists*. This combined agency of the *gospel and colonization* has already begun to redress the wrongs of Africa. "It is fast restoring a continent shrouded in the darkness of accumulated centuries, to the lights of civilization and Christianity. It is opening up to that degraded and impoverished people, new sources of prosperity and

new fields of enterprise in the boundless resources of that great continent.' The agencies so successfully begun by the colonization scheme, need only to be sufficiently augmented to secure the regeneration of Africa.

Then, with such ample provision made for the free colored man, and with such a field of future greatness and of glory opening up before him, why should he not be encouraged, and why not *aided*, to enter upon his rich inheritance, instead of begging for a home on this continent, where, at best, his future prospects would be overcast with gloom. Does the man of color wish to speak to the southern slave-holder in tones that can be heard and will be respected? instead of relying upon *the feeble cry of three and a half millions* in this country, Africa has *eighty millions of voices* which he may control, and whose united shout for freedom to the slave, would shake the fetters from his limbs and give him liberty

IV. The practicability of colonizing the free people of color.

The best mode of discussing the practicability of any scheme, is, first to ascertain what is to be accomplished. The following list of the twenty-four principal states, and the number of free colored people in each, in 1840, presents the amount of persons to be provided for, and the manner of their distribution throughout the union.

Maine,	1,355	Pennsylvania,	47,854	Tennessee,	5,524
N. Hampshire,	537	Ohio,	17,342	N. Carolina,	22,732
Massachusetts,	8,669	Indiana,	7,165	S. Carolina,	8,276
Rhode Island,	3,238	Illinois,	3,598	Georgia,	2,753
Connecticut,	8,105	Delaware,	16,919	Mississippi,	1,366
Vermont,	730	Maryland,	62,020	Missouri,	1,574
New York,	50,027	Virginia,	49,842	Alabama,	2,039
New Jersey,	21,044	Kentucky,	7,317	Louisiana,	25,502

It will be seen, under our first head, that the number of human beings torn from Africa, on American account alone, in 1847, all of whom, perhaps, were for the Brazilian market, amounted to 84,356. Now, we would ask whether this fact does not furnish a useful lesson upon the subject of the practicability of colonization *from the United States to Africa*.

The total annual increase of the whole colored population of the United States, slave and free, from 1830 to 1840, was 54,356, or, 30,000 less than the exports of slaves, in 1847, from Africa for the American market.

The whole number of the free colored population of the United States, in 1840, was 386,235, or only a little over four and a half times greater than one year's importation from Africa.

The total increase of the free colored population of the United States, from 1830 to 1840, was 6,664, annually, making the number torn from Africa, in one year, more than twelve and a half times as great as the whole annual increase of the free colored population of the United States.

The total free colored population of Ohio, is, at present, about

30,000, and that of Indiana and Illinois 20,000. The other states will have but a small advance on their free colored population of 1840. The exports of slaves from Africa, in one year, are, therefore, nearly three times greater than the whole number of free colored people at present in Ohio; more than four times that of Indiana and Illinois; nearly four times that of the six New England states in 1840; nearly double that of Pennsylvania; thirteen thousand more than that of New York and New Jersey; four thousand more than Delaware and Maryland; nearly double that of Virginia; nearly seventeen thousand more than double that of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; nearly six times that of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama; and nearly four times that of Louisiana.

If, therefore, a set of desperadoes, not so numerous but that they have eluded detection and capture, can, in one year, accomplish all that is here enumerated, what could not the united efforts of the legislatures of the several states accomplish, without oppressive taxation, were they simultaneously to commence the work of colonizing the free colored people?

Suppose each of the states in the foregoing list, were, as a preparatory measure, to appropriate to the colonization society, one dollar for each colored person in their bounds, the sum of \$375,528 would be raised, being about one half the whole sum expended by the society since its origin. Now, there is scarcely one of the states named, which could not give an annual appropriation of the sum stated, without the tax being felt by its people.

The sum required by this scheme, to be expended by Ohio, would be only *one cent and a half* for each of the two millions of her present population. To pay the expenses of the transportation of her whole 30,000 free colored people, at \$50 each,—the sum for which the colonization society agrees to take out emigrants—would cost but *seventy-five cents* for each person. But suppose Ohio could prevent all further immigration into the state, and would agree to send out *the natural increase only*, which, at two per cent. on 30,000, would be 600, the tax would be but *one cent and a half* to each citizen of the State.

Then, who will say that it will not be *practicable* to raise this sum in Ohio, on condition that six hundred persons of color, annually, would volunteer to emigrate? And which of the other states would decline entering into a measure of such easy accomplishment? We trust not one.

As it may amuse the curious, and furnish a rule to determine the quota of each state for paying the cost of emigration *of its natural increase*, we would here state, that one dollar per head, for the whole free colored population, is exactly fifty dollars a head for the natural increase,—the ratio of increase being two per cent. One dollar a head, for each free colored person in a state, will, therefore, transfer its natural increase to Africa, and put them in possession of a home-
stead upon which to make a living.

I shall not, here, refer to the probabilities of the free colored people

being willing to accept the offered boon of a home in Liberia, but leave it to another branch of our subject.

V. The influence of Colonization upon the native Africans, and upon Missionary efforts in Africa.

On these points we shall study great brevity. The influence of colonization upon the native Africans has been, in all respects, beneficial. It is only necessary to state, that in purchasing the lands from the native kings and head men, and thus securing the right of sovereignty over the soil, the inhabitants are at once secured in the protection of the laws of the Liberian government, and in the enjoyment of its advantages. Those held in slavery, and they constitute about eight-tenths of the population, are at once emancipated. The same care is taken in promoting their education that is observed in the instruction of emigrants from the United States. When sufficiently advanced in intelligence, they are admitted to the rights of citizenship. In this way, 75,000 of the natives have been emancipated from slavery, and secured in all the rights of freemen. By treaties with surrounding tribes, 200,000 more are bound not to engage in the slave trade, nor to go to war amongst themselves. These treaties secure to the respective tribes embraced, the protection of the Republic against all other hostile tribes. A breach of the conditions of these treaties, on the part of any tribe, forfeits the protection of the colony. Thus, for ten years past, the colony has preserved peace amongst many petty tribes whose trade formerly was war. Colonization, therefore, in many respects, has done great good to Africa. And, in addition to all this, we may add, that such is the favorable impression which our colonies are beginning to send abroad among the native tribes, that, recently, six kings have combined and annexed their territories, including one hundred miles of coast, to the Maryland colony. This statement we have met with, as coming from *Rev. Mr. Pinney*, for a time the governor of Liberia. The motive prompting these kings to annex, is, that they may enjoy the protection of the colony.

The History of Missionary efforts in Western Africa, fully sustains the truthfulness of the pictures which have been drawn of the fatality of the climate to the white man, and of the dreadful moral darkness which overspreads the land.*

Catholic missionaries labored for two hundred and forty-one years, but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations. The Moravians, beginning in 1736, toiled for thirty-four years, making five attempts, at a cost of eleven lives, and effected nothing. An English attempt, at Bulama Island, in 1792, partly missionary in its character, was abandoned in two years, with a loss of one hundred lives. A mission sent to the Foulahs, from England, in 1795, returned without commencing its labors. The London,

* We have drawn our facts mostly from Mr. Tracy's history of Colonization and Missions.

Edinburgh and Glasgow society, commenced three stations in 1797, which were extinct in three years, and five of the six missionaries dead. The Church missionary society sent out its first missionaries in 1804, but it was four years before they could find a place out of the colony of Sierra Leone, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations. But the hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from nine of them, and forced them to take refuge in Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. The tenth station at Goree, was also abandoned and given up to the French.

“Here, then, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts, before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of climate, and the hostility of the natives, generated by the opposition of the slave traders.” And, since the settlement of Liberia, until 1845, when these investigations were completed, all attempts to sustain missions beyond the influence of the Colony have also failed.

“But while we mourn over these failures in attempts to do good to Africa, it is a source of the most profound gratitude to have the facts placed authentically before the world, that every attempt at colonizing Africa *with colored persons, and every missionary effort connected with the Colonies*, either of England or America, have been successful.”

These facts prove, conclusively, that while other lands may be approached and blessed by other methods, the only hope for Africa appears to be in Colonization by persons of color. This is the only star of promise which kindles its light on her dark horizon. It is the only apparent means of her salvation.

“After the presentation of such an array of facts, extending over a period of *four centuries*, may we not claim that the question is decided—that the facts of the case preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt—that *the combined action of Colonization and missions is proved to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.*”

And who that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work, and labor, through good report and through ill, for the concentration of all the talent and piety, belonging to the colored people, upon that coast? Who that truly desires the redemption of the African race from their degradation of accumulated centuries, but would rejoice to see hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands, of the virtuous and intelligent of our colored population, like so many angels of mercy, flocking to Africa, and employed in that labor of love which must be performed before Ethiopia can stretch out her hands to God?

After what has been said, in relation to the low state of morals amongst the slaves, and the new accessions of colored emigrants which we are likely to receive from the slave states, it is proper, in this place, that we should present some explanation. Our observa-

tions, it will be noticed, were based upon the representations made by our northern friends on the degrading and brutifying tendencies of slavery, and were offered, partly, as a retort upon them for wishing to overstock us with such a population as they must necessarily believe will emanate from the midst of slavery, while they themselves scarcely touch the burthen with the tip of the finger. Our views, however, differ materially from theirs, in relation to the moral condition of the slaves.

While we believe that slavery, like despotism in any other form, in itself considered, contains no one principle which tends to elevate and improve the intellect and the heart, yet we know that there are accidents connected with it, in this country, as there have been with despotism in Europe, which afford to its victims the means of improvement. We believe that the Providence of God never places men, towards whom he has designs of mercy, in circumstances where the gospel of Christ is not adapted to their condition. That gospel, we know, has spoken peace to thousands of poor slaves, and whispered to their desponding hearts the hope of freedom in heaven. It is undeniable, that an immense degree of intellectual and moral advancement, beyond that of the native of Africa, has been made by the slaves of the United States, under all the disadvantages to which they have been subjected. It is true, that thousands of masters are laboring with much success for the moral and religious improvement of their slaves. It is well known, that the moral character and religious principle of many a slave will compare with and excel that of many of the whites, even in the north. It is certain, that the voluntary emancipations which occur, are by this class of masters and from this class of slaves. And it is a fact, that the greater number of the newly emancipated slaves, who come to the free states, have more or less acquaintance with their social, moral, and religious duties, and are more or less disposed to make further efforts for their own advancement. And knowing and believing all this, we are prepared to take them by the hand and to encourage them to the full extent of the numbers that we are able to receive. We are also prepared to coöperate with, and do aid them, in their efforts at education. In the village in which your speaker resides, a Presbytery of the church with which he is connected, pays, regularly, from a donation by a deceased member, the half of the salary of a teacher for a colored school. From observation there, and elsewhere, we have learned that though but a small portion of the parents have a right appreciation of the importance of education and of the arduousness of the task of acquiring knowledge, yet, upon the whole, they manifest fully as much interest in the work as the same number of whites would do, who possess no higher a standard of intellectual attainment.

Were it in our power, therefore, to increase the facilities for their education a thousand fold, we would do it at once. Because we feel it to be an imperative duty resting on the white men of the United States, allowing of no halfway measures or efforts,

to labor for the redemption of Africa, and to repair the wrongs that have been done her.

But to execute this task, we must call to our aid men of African blood. We should have one teacher or missionary for every 1000 inhabitants. To supply the whole 80,000,000 of people of color in Africa, with teachers and missionaries, will, therefore, require an educated army of 80,000 colored men, who must be supplied from the United States and from Liberia. While, then, we struggle to elevate and improve the colored man in the United States, we point him to Africa as the field of usefulness in which we wish to see him labor.

VI. The certainty of success of the Colonization scheme, and of the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

In the facts which have been already presented, in the course of our investigations, many reasons will be found to encourage our hopes that the colonization scheme must continue to prosper, and that the experiment of an African Republic must succeed. We shall now proceed to offer additional facts and considerations of much more weight and importance on this point, than any which we have, yet, produced. The first and more important is based upon *the commercial advantages*, in Africa, which Liberia is beginning to unfold to civilized nations. But as time will not allow us to enter upon an extended investigation of the peculiar advantages which each nation will derive from the civilization of Africa, we shall confine ourselves to those of England, because she is more vitally interested in the success of Liberia than all the others. When the facts in her case are known, it will be easy to make the application to other nations. It will be seen, in the course of these investigations, that it is of the utmost importance to England to aid the Republic of Liberia in extending its influence with all possible rapidity over the continent of Africa. The reasons upon which we base this opinion are briefly as follows :

Next to the necessity under which the government of Great Britain is laid to create new markets for her manufactures, comes the vast importance which she attaches to having the control of *tropical possessions and tropical productions*. Their importance to her heretofore, in contributing to give to her the ascendancy which she acquired amongst nations, was thus strongly stated by McQUEEN, in 1844, when this highly intelligent Englishman was urging upon his government the great necessity which existed for securing to itself the control of *the labor and the products of tropical Africa*.

“During the fearful struggle of a quarter of a century, for her existence as a nation, against the power and resources of Europe, directed by the most intelligent but remorseless military ambition against her, *the command of the productions of the torrid zone*, and the advantageous commerce which that afforded, gave to Great Britain the power and the resources which enabled her to meet, to combat, and to overcome, her numerous and reckless enemies in

every battle-field, whether by sea or by land, throughout the world. In her the world saw realized the fabled giant of antiquity. With her hundred hands she grasped her foes in every region under heaven, and crushed them with resistless energy."

If the possession and control of tropical products gave to England such immense resources, and secured to her such superiority and such power, then, to be deprived of these resources would of course exert a corresponding opposite effect, and she would not yield them to another but in a death-struggle for their maintainance. Now, we expect to prove that this struggle has commenced and progressed to a point of the utmost interest, both to England and to the cause of humanity; and that the present moment finds Great Britain in a position so disadvantageous, arising from the progress of other nations in tropical cultivation, that one principal means of her extrication is in the success of Liberia.

Mr. McQueen, in proceeding further with his investigations, reveals to us the true position of England by the following startling announcement:

"The increased cultivation and prosperity of foreign tropical possessions is become so great, and is advancing so rapidly the power and resources of *other nations*, that these are embarrassing this country (England,) in all her commercial relations, in her pecuniary resources, and in all her political relations and negotiations."

The peculiar force of these remarks, and the cause for alarm which existed, will be better understood by an examination of the figures in the following table. They contrast the condition of Great Britain as compared with only a few other countries, in the production of *three articles, alone, of tropical produce.*

SUGAR—1842.

British possessions.		Foreign countries.	
West Indies,	cwts. 2,508,552	Cuba,	cwts. 5,800,000
East Indies,	" 940,452	Brazil,	" 2,400,000
Mauritius, (1841)	" 544,767	Java,	" 1,165,757
Total	3,993,771	Louisiana,	" 1,400,000
		Total	10,705,757

COFFEE—1842.

West Indies,	lbs. 9,186,555	Java,	lbs. 134,842,715
East Indies,	" 18,206,448	Brazils,	" 135,000,800
Total	27,393,003	Cuba,	" 33,589,325
		Venezuela,	" 34,000,000
		Total	337,432,840

COTTON—1840.

West Indies,	lbs. 427,529	United States,	lbs. 790,479,275
East Indies,	" 77,015,917	Java,	" 165,504,800
To China, from do.	" 60,000,000	Brazil,	" 25,222,828
Total	137,443,446	Total	981,206,903

But that this exhibit may convey its full force to the mind, it must be observed, that nearly three-fourths of this *slave-grown produce*, has been created, says McQueen, within thirty years preceding the date of his writing. (1844.)

It will be noticed, also, that the whole of these products, with the exception of those of Java and Venezuela, are the produce of slave labor; and it must be remembered, also, that the perpetuation and increase of this labor is, in a great degree, except in Louisiana, *depending upon the slave trade for its continuance*. It is easy, then, to perceive, from the foregoing facts, that the slave trade has been very sensibly and very seriously affecting the interests of the British government—that it has been an engine in the hands of other nations, by which they have thrown England into the back ground in the production of those articles of which she formerly had the monopoly, and which had given to her such power—and *that Great Britain must either crush the slave trade, or it will continue to paralyze her*.

Here is the true secret of her movements in reference to the slave trade and slavery. Public sentiment, *under the control of Christian principle*, compelled her in 1808, to a first step in this great work of philanthropy; and this step, once taken, there could be no retreat. But this first step, *the abolition of the slave trade in her colonies*, gave to Spain and Portugal all the advantages of that traffic, and the cheaper and more abundant labor, thus secured, gave a powerful stimulus to the production of tropical commodities in their colonies of Cuba and Brazil, and soon enabled them to rival, and greatly surpass England, in the amount of her exports of these articles.

But the investigations which had led to the knowledge of the enormities of the slave trade, necessarily exhibited the evils of slavery itself. Public opinion decreed the annihilation of both, and the British government had no other alternative but to comply. The means to which she resorted for the suppression of the slave trade, and their failure hitherto, have been already noticed. The measures adopted for the emancipation of her West India slaves, have resulted still more unfavorably to her interests than those for the extinction of the slave trade.

It was considered absolutely necessary to the prosperity of England, that she should regain the advantageous position which she had occupied in being the chief producer of tropical commodities. But to effect this, it was necessary that she should be able to double the exports from her own Islands, and greatly diminish those of her rivals. This could be accomplished, only, by an increase of laborers from abroad, or by stimulating those on the Islands to double activity in their work. An increase of laborers from abroad could only be secured by a resort to the slave trade, which was impossible; or to voluntary emigration from other countries to the Islands, which was improbable. The only remaining alternative was to render the labor already in the Islands more productive.

This could not be done by the *whip*, as it had already expended its force, and could not afford the relief demanded. This position of affairs made the government willing to listen to the appeals of the friends of West India emancipation. They had long argued that free labor was *cheaper* than slave labor—that *one freeman, under the stimulus of wages, would do twice the work of a slave compelled to industry by the whip*—that the government, by immediate emancipation, could demonstrate the truth of this proposition, and thus furnish a powerful argument against slavery—that the world should be convinced that the employment of slave labor is a great *economic error*—and that this truth, once believed, the abolition of slavery would every where take place, and the demand for slaves being thus destroyed, the slave trade must cease. Parliament, yielding to these arguments, passed her West India Emancipation act, 1833, with certain restrictions, by which the liberated slaves were to be held by their old masters as apprentices, partly until Aug. 1, 1838, and partly until Aug. 1, 1840. This apprenticeship system, however, being productive of greater cruelties than even slavery, the Legislative councils of the Islands, coerced by public sentiment in England, were forced to precipitate the final emancipation of the slaves, and on Aug. 1, 1838, they were declared free. This act at once brought on the crisis in the experiment. The results are stated in the following official table, taken from the Westminster Review, 1844.

Sugar Exported from	Average of 1831-2-3. 3 yrs. of Slavery.	Average of 1835-6-7. 3 yrs. of Apprent'ship.	Average of 1839-40-41. 3 yrs. of Freedom.
St. Vincent,	23,400,000 lbs.	22,500,000 lbs.	14,100 000 lbs.
Trinidad,	18,923 tons.	18,255 tons.	14,828 tons.
Jamaica,	86,080 hhd.	62,960 hhd.	34,415 hhd.
Total W. Indies,	3,841,153 cwt.	3,477,592 cwt.	2,396,784 cwt.

This immense and unexpected reduction of West India products under the system of freedom, was cause of great alarm. The experiment which was to prove the superiority of *free labor* over that of *slave labor* had failed. The hope of *doubling the exports* by that means was blasted. \$500,000,000* of British capital, invested in the Islands, says McQueen, was on the brink of destruction for want of laborers to make it available. The English government found her commerce greatly lessened, and her home supply of tropical products falling below the actual wants of her own people. This diminution rendered her unable to furnish any surplus for the markets of those of her colonies and other countries which she formerly supplied. These results *at once extended the market for slave grown products, and gave a new impulse to the slave trade.*

The government and its advisers now found themselves in the mortifying position of having blundered miserably in their emancipation scheme, and of having landed themselves in a dilemma of singu-

* We reckon the pound sterling, here and elsewhere, for convenience, at five dollars.

lar perplexity. Had England induced, or compelled Portugal, Spain, and Brazil,—the latter then no longer a colony but an independent nation,—to fulfill the conditions of the treaty declaring the slave trade piracy, and also to abolish slavery, she might have succeeded in her object. But she did not await the accomplishment of this work before she declared the freedom of her own slaves. This act resulted so favorably to the interests of those countries employing slave labor, by enlarging the markets for slave grown products, that the difficulty of inducing them to cease from it, was increased a hundred fold. Nor did the expedients to which she resorted prove successful in extricating her from the difficulties in which she was involved. A duty of near 39 shillings, afterwards raised to 41 shillings the cwt., or $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence the pound, levied on *slave grown sugar*—designed to prohibit its importation into England and secure the monopoly to the West India planter, thereby enabling him to pay higher wages for labor—while it failed to stimulate the activities of the freedmen sufficiently to increase the exports to their former amount—resulted only in taxing the English people, by the increase of prices consequent upon a diminution of the supply, in a single year, says Porter in his *Progress of Nations*, to the enormous amount of \$25,000,000 more than the inhabitants of other countries paid for the same quantity of sugar. This enormous tax accrued during 1840, from the protective duty, but was greatly above that of any other year during its continuance. The whole amount of the bounty to the planter, thus drawn from the pockets of the English people and placed in those of the West India negro laborers in excessive high wages, in the course of six or seven years, says McQueen, 1844, amounted to \$50,000,000.

The crisis had become so imminent, that energetic measures were immediately adopted to guard against the impending danger. England must either regain her advantages in tropical countries and tropical products, or she must be shorn of a part of her power and greatness. This truth was so fully impressed upon the minds of her intelligent statesmen, that one of the best informed on this subject, (McQueen,) declared, that

“If the foreign slave trade be not extinguished, and the cultivation of the tropical territories of other powers *opposed and checked by British tropical cultivation*, then the interests and the power of such states will rise into a preponderance over those of Great Britain; and the power and the influence of the latter will cease to be felt, feared and respected, amongst the civilized and powerful nations of the world.”

To relieve the English people from the onerous tax of the sugar duties, and at the same time, in obedience to the dictates of public opinion, to continue the exclusion of *slave grown products* from the English markets, sugar, the product of *free labor*, it was decided, should be admitted at a duty of 10 shillings the cwt. But it was soon discerned, that this policy would only create a circuitous commerce, by which the slave grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil

would be taken by Holland and Spain, for their own consumption, and that of Java and Manilla sent to England; thus creating a more extensive demand for slave grown products and consequently for slave labor, and giving to the *slave trade an additional impulse in an increased demand for slaves.*

The necessity for this continuous supply of slave laborers from Africa, for the planters of Cuba and Brazil, will be better understood, when the nature of West India and Brazilian slavery is made known. When England prohibited the slave trade in 1806, the number of slaves in her colonies was 800,000. In twenty-three years afterwards, or near the time she emancipated them, they numbered but 700,000. The *decrease* in this period was, therefore, 100,000; (Memoirs of Buxton).

The United States, in 1800, had a slave population of 893,000. In 1830 she numbered 2,009,000, being an increase of 1,116,000. Thus, in thirty years, the United States had an increase of *one million one hundred and sixteen thousand* on a population of 893,000; while the West Indies, under the English system of slavery, with a slave population nearly equal to that of the United States, in a period only six years less, *suffered an actual decrease of one hundred thousand.*

The destruction of human life in the slavery of Cuba and Brazil will, doubtless, be equal to what it was formerly in the West Indies, inasmuch as the same causes prevail—the great disparity of the sexes amongst those brought by slave traders, from Africa, for the planters. In the slave population of Cuba this disproportion, says McQueen, is 150,000 females to 275,000 males. It is estimated, that to keep up the slave population of Cuba and Brazil, will require, yearly, 130,000 people from Africa. It is, then, at once apparent, that Cuba and Brazil *are dependent*, as we have said, *upon the slave trade for keeping up the supply of their laborers*; and, that, if this annual importation of slaves should be stopped, then, their foreign exports would be proportionally lessened and their growing prosperity checked.

Under these circumstances, there could be no doubt, that if England could suppress the slave trade, she would at once cut off the supply of laborers furnished by that traffic to Cuba and Brazil, and “*check*” *their ability to rival her as producers of tropical commodities*; and, further, if she could *increase the number of laborers in the West Indies sufficiently*, she could restore those Islands to their former productiveness, and recover her former advantages. She, therefore, renewed her efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, with greatly increased activity. She also commenced the transfer of *free laborers* from the East Indies and from Africa to the West Indies. Every slave trading vessel captured, was made to yield up its burden of human beings to the West India planters, instead of to those of Cuba and Brazil; thus securing to the former all the advantages of laborers which had been designed for the latter. This arrangement was adopted in 1842, and the only

exception to it was in relation to Spanish slavers, which were to be given up, with their cargoes of slaves, to the authorities of Cuba. A premium was paid to her naval officers and seamen for all the slaves thus captured and transported to her West India Colonies. The expenditure for this object, in 1844, says McQueen, had amounted to \$4,700,000.

In this movement an intelligent colored man, Mr. WILLIAM BROWN, of Oxford, Ohio, has remarked, that England seems to have copied the example of the eagle, which disdains to soil his own plumage by a plunge in the water, but, as he must have the fish or die, makes no scruple of robbing the more daring fish-hawk of its prey and appropriating the captive fish to his own use, instead of restoring it to its native element.

All these efforts, however, failed in relieving England from her difficulties. The slave trade continued to increase, and the slave grown productions to multiply. The number of *free laborers* transported as *emigrants* from Africa and the East Indies, or captured from the slave traders, and landed in the Islands, were so few, comparatively, as to make no sensible difference in the amount of West India productions, and the scheme, though still continued, has failed of its main object—the *increase of British West India productions*. Some other means of replacing England in her former position, must, therefore, be devised.

But let us look a moment, before we proceed, at the West Indies, and learn more fully, the extent and nature of the influences which have gone forth upon the world as the result of West India Emancipation and British policy and philanthropy.

It seems to have been a great error of judgment in the British philanthropists, who urged West India Emancipation *upon the ground that free labor would be more productive than slave labor*,—that a freeman, under the stimulus of *wages*, would do twice the labor of a slave toiling beneath the *lash*: because this proposition is true only in reference to men of *intelligence and forethought*, but is untrue when applied to an ignorant and degraded class of men. The ox under the yoke, or the mule in the harness, when spurred on by the goad or the whip, will do more labor than when turned out to shift for themselves. So it will be with any barbarous people, or with the mass of such a slave population as the West Indies then included; where but little more care had been taken of the greater portion of them than if they had been mere brute beasts, and not moral agents. If any higher estimate had been put upon them, than as mere *machines* to be used in the production of tropical commodities, then it had been impossible for their numbers to have been reduced one hundred thousand in so short a period as before stated.

The first impulse of the heart of the more intelligent slaves, when they awoke to a consciousness of freedom, would prompt them to withdraw their wives, daughters, and younger children, from the sugar plantations, that the mothers might attend to their household duties, and the children be sent to school. This would deprive the

planters of much of the labor upon which they had depended. The men, too, would many of them prefer mechanical pursuits, or confine themselves to the cultivation of small portions of land, and decline laboring for their old masters, in whose presence they must still have felt a sense of inferiority. Many, from sheer indolence and recklessness of consequences, would only labor when necessity compelled them to seek a supply of their wants. The marriages taking place would withdraw still more of the laborers from the fields, and reduce the amount of the products of the Islands.

While, therefore, the ease, comfort, and welfare, of the colored man was secured, the interests of the planters were almost ruined by emancipation, and the influence and power of England put in jeopardy. Little did the 700,000 West India freedmen, who refused to labor regularly for the planters, think, when following their own inclinations, or lounging at their ease under the shade trees of these sunny Islands, that their want of industry, their reluctance to go back to the sugar mills, for the wages offered, was crippling the power of one of the greatest empires on earth, and robbing Africa of 400,000 of her children, annually, to supply to the world, from Cuba and Brazil, those very commodities which they were refusing to produce. Yet such was the fact, and such the mysterious links connecting man with his fellow, that the want of ambition in the West India freedman to earn more than a subsistence, depriving the planters of the necessary free labor to keep up the usual amount of exports, created a corresponding demand for slave grown products, and robbed Africa, in each two years thereafter, of a number of men *more than equal to the whole of the slaves emancipated in the British Islands.*

There would seem, then, to have been but little gain to the cause of humanity by West India Emancipation. *This view of its results, however, would be very erroneous.* On the contrary, there is exhibited here, in this result, another mysterious link in the chain of events connected with the redemption of Africa. The failure of the West India experiment, *has been a failure, only, of England's experiment adopted to restore herself to her former position and her former advantages,* and will not retard the onward progress of the cause of humanity. It has, on the contrary, no doubt greatly tended to precipitate upon the world the solution of a problem of the first importance in the great work of its recovery from barbarism. It must now be admitted *that mere personal liberty, even connected with the stimulus of high wages,* is insufficient to secure the industry of an ignorant population. It is Intelligence, alone, that can be acted upon by such motives. *Intelligence must precede voluntary Industry.* This proposition, we claim, has been fairly proved in the West India experiment. And, hereafter, that man or nation, may find it difficult to command respect or succeed in being esteemed wise, who will not, along with exertions to extend personal freedom to men, intimately blend with their efforts adequate means for intellectual and moral improvement. The West India colored

population, now released from the restraints of slavery, and accessible to the missionaries and teachers, sent to them from English Christians, are rising in intelligence and respectability; and, thus, West India emancipation has been productive of infinite advantage to them, though English capitalists may have been ruined by the act. But we will go further, and give it as our deliberate opinion, that as soon as intelligence and morality, growing out of the religious training now enjoyed, shall sufficiently prevail, the amount of products raised in the West Indies will greatly exceed that yielded under the system of slavery. Liberty and Religion can make its inhabitants as prosperous and happy as those of any other spot on earth. We do not say, however, that this can take place while they sustain the position of vassals of the British crown, and their importance in the scale of being continues to be estimated according to the extent to which they can add to its prosperity and its glory.

Had the West India colored men, under the stimulus of freedom and high wages, each performed twice the labor of a slave, as they, no doubt, might have done, and as was confidently anticipated by the enthusiastic friends of emancipation, more than twice the products of former years would have been exported from the Islands, and England, in that event, restored to her former position, and looking only to self aggrandizement, would have remained content, and continued to employ men as mere *machines*, as she heretofore had done, nor cared for their intellectual and moral elevation. But the failure of England in the West Indies, forced her to renewed efforts *for the acquisition of additional tropical possessions*, where, with better prospects of success, she could bring free labor into competition with slave labor.

Before tracing the movements of Great Britain, however, in her prosecution of this enterprise, let us again look a moment at her position. "Instead of supplying her own wants with tropical productions, and next nearly all Europe, as she formerly did, she had scarcely enough, says McQueen, 1844, of some of the most important articles, for her own consumption, while her colonies were mostly supplied with foreign slave produce." "In the mean time tropical productions had been increased from \$75,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually. The English capital invested in tropical productions in the East and West Indies, had been, by emancipation in the latter, reduced from \$750,000,000 to \$650,000,000; while, since 1808, on the part of foreign nations \$4,000,000,000 of fixed capital had been created in slaves and in cultivation wholly dependent upon the labor of slaves." "The odds, therefore, in agricultural and commercial capital and interest, and consequently in political power and influence, arrayed against the British tropical possessions, were very fearful—SIX TO ONE."

This, then, was the position of England from 1840 to 1844, and these the forces marshalled against her, and which she must meet and combat. In all her movements hitherto, she had only added to the strength of her rivals. Her first step, the suppression of the slave

trade, had diminished her West India laborers 100,000 in twenty-three years, and reduced her means of production to that extent, giving all the benefits, arising from this and from the slave trade, to rival nations, who have but too well improved their advantages. But, besides her commercial sacrifices, she had expended \$100,000,000 to remunerate the planters for the slaves emancipated, and another \$100,000,000 for an armed repression of the slave trade. And yet, in all this enormous expenditure, resulting only in loss to England, Africa had received no advantage whatever, but, on the contrary, she had been robbed, since 1808, of at least, 3,500,000 slaves, (McQueen) who had been exported to Cuba and Brazil from her coast, making a total loss to Africa, by the rule of Buxton, of 11,666,000 human beings, or one million more than the whole white population of the United States in 1830, and more than three times the number of our present slave population.

Now, it was abundantly evident, that Great Britain was impelled by an overpowering necessity, by the instinct of *self-preservation*, to attempt the suppression of the slave trade. It was true, no doubt, that considerations of justice and humanity were among the motives which influenced her actions. Interest and duty were, therefore, combined to stimulate her to exertion. The measures to be adopted to secure success, were also becoming more apparent. Few other nations are guided by statesmen more quick to perceive the best course to adopt in an emergency, and none more readily abandon a scheme as soon as it proves impracticable. Great Britain stood pledged to her own citizens and to the world for the suppression of the slave trade. She stood equally pledged to demonstrate, that free labor can be made more productive than slave labor, even in the cultivation of tropical commodities. These pledges she could not deviate from nor revoke. Her interests as well as her honor were deeply involved in their fulfillment. But she could only demonstrate the greater productiveness of free labor over slave labor, by opposing the one to the other, in their practical operations on a scale coëxtensive with each other. She must produce tropical commodities so cheaply and so abundantly, by free labor, that she could undersell slave-grown products to such an extent, and glut the markets of the world with them so fully, as to render it unprofitable any longer to employ slaves in tropical cultivation. Such an enterprise, successfully carried out, would be a death blow to slavery and the slave trade. "But," says McQueen, "there remained no portion of the tropical world, where labor could be had on the spot, and whereon Great Britain could conveniently and safely plant her foot, in order to accomplish this desirable object—extensive tropical cultivation—*but in tropical Africa*. Every other part was occupied by independent nations, or by people that might and would soon become independent." Africa, therefore, was the field upon which Great Britain was *compelled* to enter and to make her second grand experiment. Her citizens were becoming convinced that it was unwise, if not unjust, to abstract laborers, even as free emigrants, from Africa, to be employed in other

parts of the world, *when their labor might be employed to much better advantage in Africa itself.* The government could, therefore, safely resort to some modification of her former policy. To confine her efforts for the recovery of her prosperity, *within the limits of her own tropical possessions, would be to abandon the vast regions of tropical Africa to other nations,* and thus permit them, by taking possession of it, to redouble the advantages over her which they already possessed. By employing the labor of Africa *within Africa,* she would cut off the supply of laborers derived by other nations from the slave trade, and would have an advantage over them, not only of the capital expended in the transportation of slaves *from Africa,* but she would have a gain of *seven-tenths* in the saving of human life now destroyed by the slave trade. British capital, instead of being *directly* and *indirectly* employed in the slave trade, as has been fully shown by the Hon. H. A. Wise, late American minister to Brazil, could be more honorably and safely invested in the cultivation of the richer fields of tropical Africa itself.

In her West India experiment, however, England had been taught the all-important lesson, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry.* Her Niger expedition of 1842, already noticed, was based upon this principle, and hence the extensive preparations connected with that movement, for the improvement of the intelligence and morals and industry of the natives. But the terrible mortality which destroyed that enterprise taught her another lesson, *that while men cannot fulfill the agency of Africa's intellectual elevation.* Since that period, England has been mostly occupied with the settlement of her difficulties with China, and her war with the Sikhs of India, and she has made but little progress in her African affairs; excepting by explorations into the interior and negotiations with the powers interested in the slave trade.

In the meantime the colony of Liberia had been pursuing its quiet and unostentatious course, and working out the problem of the colored man's capability for self-government. The active industry of that handful of men, had created a commerce of much importance, and supplied exports to the value of \$100,000 annually. Its declaration of independence was published to the world at a period the most auspicious. France, under those generous impulses so characteristic of her people, had herself trampled the last relics of despotism in the dust, and declared the Republic. Great as she herself is, she did not despise the little African republic, but, extending her view down the stream of time, discerned in it the germ of future empire and greatness, and therefore, she welcomed it into the family of nations. But lest, in its feebleness, it should receive a wound to its honor, or an injury to its commerce, from an attack of the dealers in human flesh infesting its borders, with distinguished liberality she offered the use of her war vessels for their destruction.

England, too, found herself in a position inclining her to favor the young republic; nay, not only *inclining* but imposing upon her *the necessity* of promoting its welfare. Impelled by her own interests

and wants, to secure extensive tropical cultivation, by free labor, in *Africa*, she had been surveying the whole vast field of that continent, the only country now remaining where her grand experiment could be commenced, and found much of it already occupied. France, fully alive to the importance of the commerce with Africa, had, within a short period, securely placed herself at the mouth of the Senegal and at Goree, extending her influence eastward and southeastward from both places. She had a settlement at Albreda, on the Gambia, a short distance above St. Mary's, and which commands that river. She had formed a settlement at the mouth of the Gaboon, and another near the chief mouth of the Niger. She had fixed herself at Massuah and Bure, on the west shore of the Red Sea, commanding the inlets into Abyssinia. She had endeavored to fix her flag at Brava and the mouth of the Jub, and had taken permanent possession of the important island of Johanna, situated in the center of the northern outlet of the Mozambique channel, by which she acquired its command. Her active agents were placed in southern Abyssinia, and employed in traversing the borders of the Great White Nile; while Algiers on the northern shores of Africa, must speedily be her own. Spain had planted herself, since the Niger expedition, in the island of Fernando Po, which commands all the outlets of the Niger and the rivers, from Cameroons to the equator. Portugal witnessing these movements, had taken measures to revive her once fine and still important colonies in tropical Africa. They included 17° of latitude on the east coast, from the tropic of Capricorn to Zanzibar, and nearly 19° on the west coast, from the 20^{th} south latitude, northward to cape Lopez. The Imaum of Muscat claimed the sovereignty on the east coast, from Zanzibar to Babelmandel, with the exception of the station of the French at Brava. From the Senegal northward to Algeria was in the possession of the independent Moorish princes. Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt were north of the tropic of Cancer, and independent tributaries of Turkey.

Here, then, all the eastern and northern coasts of Africa, and also the west coast from the Gambia northwards, was found to be in the actual possession of independent sovereignties, who, of course, would not yield the right to England. Southern Africa, below the tropic of Capricorn, already belonging to England, though only the same distance south of the equator that Cuba and Florida are north of it, is highly elevated above the sea-level, and not adapted to tropical productions. The claims of Portugal on the west coast, before noticed, extending from near the British south African line to Cape Lopez, excluded England from that district. From Cape Lopez to the mouth of the Niger, including the Gaboon and Fernando Po, as before stated, was under the control of the French and Spanish.

The only territory, therefore, not claimed by civilized countries, which could be made available to England for her great scheme of tropical cultivation, was that between the Niger and Liberia, embracing nearly fourteen degrees of longitude. But this territory includes

the powerful kingdom of Dahomey and that of Ashantee, whose right to the sovereignty of the soil could not, probably, be purchased, as was that of the former petty kings on the line of coast occupied by Liberia. Their territory, however, and that of Liberia, together with the whole of the vast basin of the Niger, under the hand of industry could be made to teem with those productions, the command of which were of such essential importance to England. But both Dahomey and Ashantee were engaged in the slave trade, and, like other parts of the continent, nine-tenths of the population held as slaves.—(Dr. GOMMEN.) This territory, therefore, could not be made available to England until she could succeed in securing the discontinuance of their connection with the slave trade and the abolition of their system of slavery; and not even then, as we have before proved, until *intelligence* should be introduced and diffused and *industry* begotten—a *work of generations*. But negotiations in relation to these objects had been commenced, says M'Queen, in 1844, under favorable auspices, and the king of Dahomey had agreed to abolish the slave trade, and had favorably received some Wesleyan missionaries. England has, since that period, successfully exerted her influence in other quarters for its suppression. In the British House of Commons, lately, Lord Palmerston announced, that the Bey of Tunis had abandoned within his dominions, not merely the slave trade but slavery itself—that the Sultan of Turkey had prohibited the slave trade among his subjects in the eastern seas—that the Imaum of Muscat had abolished it within certain latitudes—that the Arabian Chiefs in the Persian Gulf have also abandoned it—and that the Shah of Persia has prohibited it throughout his dominions. Thus, then, though the system of *an armed repression* of the slave trade has entirely failed, as before shown, yet the hope is springing up that it may soon be so circumscribed that its extermination can be more easily effected by encircling the remaining parts of the coast with Christian colonies.

But all these movements, important as they are to the cause of humanity, do not, in the least, check the slave trade with Cuba and Brazil, and the reason seems to be this: the slave trade is not a business by itself, and the slave traders are not a distinct class of men. The trade is so mixed up with the general business of the world, that it can derive facilities from the most innocent commercial transactions. In Brazil it is neither unlawful nor disreputable, and, it is said that nobody abstains from it, or from dealing with those concerned in it, from any fear of law, scruples of conscience, or regard of character; and that to trade with Brazil at all is to deal with a slave trader, or with some one who deals freely with slave traders. Hence, English capitalists in loaning money in Brazil, or English manufacturers in filling orders for goods from Brazil, are furnishing facilities for the slave traders to prosecute their infamous pursuits. The ship-builders of the United States, in selling fast-sailing merchant vessels to Brazilians, are furnishing to slave traders the means for transporting slaves from Africa. Thus British capital and industry and American skill, though, to the superficial observer, employed in a lawful way, are

indirectly furnishing the means for the prosecution of the slave trade, and affording facilities to those engaged directly in it, which, if withdrawn, would greatly embarrass their operations, and make it much less difficult to suppress it. Nor has the success of England, in securing the above named acts for the suppression of the slave trade, accomplished anything in her great work of *extensive tropical free labor cultivation in Africa*, as the means upon which she relies to recover her former position, and to break down the prosperity of her rivals.

In Sierra Leone, the commercial affairs being in the hands of white men, has prevented that advancement in industry, and in the knowledge of business among the colored population, which must exist before habits of active industry will be adopted by them. But in Liberia all the business is in the hands of colored men, and some of them have accumulated fortunes. Their success has encouraged others to follow their example, and industry is beginning to prevail. The great work of *tropical cultivation by free labor* has been successfully commenced by the *Freemen of Liberia*. Tropical products have been exported in small quantities, from the colony to England. Its coffee was found to be superior to that of all other countries, except Mocha, and about equal to it. The coffee tree, in Liberia, produces double the quantity, annually, which that of the West Indies bears. Its cotton, a native of its forests, is of a superior quality. Its capacity for producing sugar has been tested, and found equal to any other country. *Capital and labor* only are required to make Liberia more than rival Louisiana, *because frosts never touch its crops*, and laborers will not be thrown idle in the former, from that cause, as they are in the latter. Such is the nature of the soil and climate of Liberia, and such the easy cultivation of the products used for food, that the labor of a man, one third of his time, will supply him with necessary subsistence, leaving him the remaining two-thirds for mental improvement and to cultivate articles for export. An industrious man in Liberia must, therefore, become rich, and able to indulge his taste for the elegancies of life, leading him to the purchase of foreign commodities. Liberia, therefore, offered to England a field in which she could at once commence her experiment. All that is needed in Liberia to develop its resources, and to give it the ascendancy over all other portions of the tropical world, is *capital and labor*. The first can be abundantly supplied by England; the second by the United States and Africa. But African labor, beyond the limits of the colony where intelligence prevails, cannot be made productive until the education of the natives has been undertaken. This work, if extended very rapidly, must be performed, in a good degree, by emigrant teachers and missionaries from the United States. Hence the wisdom of the policy of England in now favoring our colony. We can supply teachers to aid in civilizing Africa. Great Britain cannot, and, disconnected from our colony, she cannot create intelligence and industry, and therefore, *cannot, at present, commence her scheme of extensive tropical cultivation without the aid of Liberia*.

Here, now, we claim, is the solution of the question of England's present liberality toward Liberia. Her own interests and purposes, demand an early demonstration of the practicability of employing free labor in opposition to slave labor, on an extensive scale, in tropical Africa. Her own African colonies have been, says McQueen, very injudiciously selected for extending an influence into Africa. But the position of Liberia is much more favorable, and will enable her, perhaps, from the head of the St. Pauls, to reach across the Kong mountains, and grasp the tributaries of the upper Niger, and, connecting the two rivers by rail-road, secure the commerce of the interior to the capital of the Republic, as the cities of New York and Philadelphia have secured that of the Mississippi valley.

England, therefore, at the moment that President Roberts visited London, found herself in a position compelling her to a change of policy toward our colony. Liberia at that moment, *was the only territory under heaven*, where could be commenced, *immediately*, her darling scheme of *extensive tropical cultivation by free labor*. And Liberia only, of all the territory that might be made available, contained the elements of success,—*intelligence and industry*. Here was England's position and here Liberia's. The old Empire, shaken by powerful rivals, and driven to extremity, was seeking a prop of sufficient strength to support her. The young Republic in the feebleness of infancy was needing a protector. That secret, unseen, hidden, invincible, and all-controlling Power, which had impelled England onward in her giant efforts to extirpate the slave trade and to abolish slavery, and which had inspired the hearts of American Christians to restore the colored man to Africa, and had watched over and protected the feeble colony until it could assume a national position; that Providence which had made England's crimes of former years, to react upon and embarrass her in all her relations, had now brought, face to face, the Prime Minister of England and the President of the Republic of Liberia. The first, was the representative of that once unscrupulous but powerful government, whose participation in the slave trade, to build up an extensive commerce and to aggrandize herself, had doomed the children of Africa to perpetual bondage; but who was now, *as a consequence of that very slave trade*, compelled to the most powerful exertions for its suppression, to save herself from commercial embarrassment and national decline: the second, was the Executive of a new Nation—*himself a descendant of one of the victims of the English slave traders*—seeking the admission of an AFRICAN REPUBLIC into the family of nations. The old Monarchy and the new Republic thus found themselves standing in the relation to each other of mutual dependence—the one, to secure a field for the immediate commencement of her grand experiment of rendering free labor more productive than slave labor, and of creating new markets for her manufactures,—the other, to obtain protection and to offer the products of the labor of the freemen of Liberia to the commerce of the world.

But it may be asked, why Great Britain should be willing to aid

Liberia in extending her influence over Africa, and thus introduce into the world a new nation who, as soon as its eighty millions of people are civilized and stimulated to industry, *can have the preponderance over all the world in tropical productions*, and consequently, have the means of acquiring power and influence in the world equal to that of other nations. The solution of this question is not difficult.

The policy of Great Britain, for a long period, caused her to grasp after foreign colonial possessions, and her glory and her strength was believed to be measured by the extent to which she could multiply her foreign dependencies. When her manufacturing interests began to multiply, she found a great stimulus to this branch of her national resources, in the markets furnished by her colonies. The increased commerce thus created, furnished another channel for the employment of British capital and enterprise. The multitude of sailors required for the merchant service, were readily transferred to her navy in times of war, and gave her immense power on the ocean. 'But the unfortunate attempt of England,' says McCulloch, in his statistical account of the British Empire, to compel the American colonists 'to contribute toward the revenue of the empire, terminating so disastrously, has led her ever since to renounce all attempts to tax her colonies for any purpose, except that of their own internal government and police.' Colonies, therefore, have since been cherished chiefly on account of the outlets they afford to her surplus population; the field they offer to private adventurers for the acquisition of fortunes, to be afterwards transferred to the mother country; the increase they add to her commerce; the markets which they furnish for her manufactures; and the agricultural or mineral products which they supply, in return, for consumption and use in England.

An opinion, however, is beginning to possess the public mind in England, that the possession of colonies is not of the especial importance to her that they were once considered. The expenditure for their government and defense often outweighs the political and commercial advantages realized from their possession. It is now believed, that her commercial and manufacturing interests can be as well if not better promoted, by a liberal commerce with independent states, than with colonies under her own control. This conviction has been forced upon the English, chiefly by the results which have followed the Independence of the United States. The British government now derives ten times more advantage, says McCulloch, from intercourse with the United States, than when she had a Governor in every state, or than she has derived from all her other colonies put together. In a more comprehensive view of British relations, by PORTER, in his *Progress of Nations*, we find it stated, that, in 1837, the exports of Great Britain to the United States amounted to more than half the sum of her shipments to the whole of Europe, while of her entire foreign exports, amounting to \$235,000,000, only one-third was consumed by her colonies.

But as other governments have arisen and attained stability, and encouragement has been afforded by them to home industry, the

instinct of *self preservation* has led to the adoption of such restrictive duties as would protect their people, in the infancy of their manufacturing efforts, against the superiority in machinery, capital and skill of older nations. In this way England has been so much restricted, from time to time, in her commercial operations, that, in 1844, (Westminster Review) her exports to the European states, notwithstanding their vast increase of population, were considerably less than they had been forty years ago.

But England has been embarrassed, not only by the restrictive duties of other governments, but many of them are beginning to rival her, in the sale of *manufactures*, in those countries whose markets are still open to foreign competition. This rivalry in manufactures is one of more serious import to Great Britain than even the rivalry which opposes her in tropical productions. *The latter is to her as the arteries, the former the heart.* The truth of this assertion will be seen in the following statements.

The great leading interest of England,—her principal dependence for the maintainance of her power and influence,—is her manufactures. Out of this interest grows her immense commerce, and from her commerce arises her ability to sustain her vast navy, giving to her such a controlling influence in the affairs of the world. ‘Wealth, civilization, and knowledge, add rapidly and indefinitely to the powers of manufacturing and commercial industry.’ All these Great Britain possesses in an eminent degree. ‘It is asserted that the manufactures of England could, in a short time, be made to quadruple their produce—that so vast is the power which the steam engine has added to the means of production in commercial industry, that it is susceptible of almost indefinite and immediate extension—that Manchester and Glasgow could, in a few years, prepare themselves for furnishing muslin and cotton goods to the whole world—that with England the great difficulty always felt is, not to get hands to keep pace with the demand of the consumers, *but to get a demand to keep pace with the hands employed in the production.*’

With such resources and capabilities, and with such interests involved in their development and extension—interests involving the very existence of the empire—England is not to be easily defeated in her purposes. When restricted or excluded from one market, she speedily seeks or creates another. The intelligence, the enterprise, and the energies, of her subjects, are called forth by government, and made subservient to the promotion of her interests and the extension of her commerce and her power. The desert or savage Islands of the sea; the bulwarks of India, or the walls of China; the frozen regions of the north, or the tropical suns of the south, present few obstacles to her enterprise. Nor need we stop to prove, in detail, that the almost irresistible energies of Great Britain, thus put forth, and embracing in their range all the earth, *find their chief motive power in her desire to extend the sale of her manufactures.* Crush her manufactures, and the throne will soon totter to its fall. But what gives a tenfold interest and importance to her enterprises,

is, that wherever she goes, wherever her standard is planted, a *Christian Civilization*, though forming no part of her *design*, almost invariably follows her conquest of, or treaty with, a pagan nation or a savage tribe. The greatness of England, and her consequent necessities, are thus compelling her to the fulfillment of a mission of vast moment to the world; and in its execution she seems likely to be driven from point to point until she completes the earth's circuit. Though she "meaneth not so," yet she may emphatically be called *the great agent for the extension of civilization*. She is now, it seems, compelled to expend her energies upon Africa, so as to secure to herself the advantages arising from its civilization. Two hundred thousand of her own subjects are now annually emigrating to other countries. This is to England an annual loss of two hundred thousand laborers, whom she cannot profitably employ at home. But were the hordes of barbarians in tropical Africa civilized, and engaged in developing its immense resources, the demand created in the supply of their wants would furnish labor for all unemployed English subjects, and add immensely to the prosperity of Great Britain.

It will now be seen that England is not only interested in encouraging the cultivation of tropical productions by Liberia, as a means of destroying *the slave trade and slavery, and of crippling the energies of her rivals*, but that she is also most deeply interested in securing the markets which Liberia will open up in Africa *for English manufactures*. Tropical Africa can never afford an outlet for European emigration, and can, therefore, be of no importance to England for that purpose. Its commercial advantages can be as well secured in the hands of independent states, as if England had possession of it as colonies. Great Britain, therefore, can, consistently with her policy and her interests, employ her influence and her power in promoting the welfare of Liberia. Nay, more, it will be seen, when all the facts stated are considered, that she is compelled, by her own necessities, to use the most energetic measures for the speedy extension of the influence and the sovereignty of the Republic of Liberia, as the point where she can, at the earliest period, commence her important experiment. Other points hereafter, may, and no doubt will be speedily made subservient to her purpose, but Liberia is her only present reliance for the commencement of her great work. Civilization is here already introduced and begins to radiate into the interior, and only needs the necessary aid and time to extend its blessings throughout Africa.

It is true, that England will have rivals, in the sale of her manufactures, in Liberia. She cares but little for that, however, because her facilities for manufacturing are, at present, and must be for years to come, so much superior to that of all other countries, that she can successfully rival them, even in their own markets, when not embarrassed by tariffs. She has taken good care to make the first treaty of commerce and amity with Liberia, and thus stands in the foreground, as the friend of the young Republic.

Now, then, we repeat, without the fear of successful contradiction, that Great Britain finds herself in a position, at this moment, so disadvantageous, both in her relations to tropical cultivation and in the sale of her manufactures, that one principal means of extrication is in the success of Liberia, and that she is, therefore, vitally interested in having the young Republic extend its influence, with all possible rapidity, over the continent of Africa; so as, at the earliest practicable day, to have her eighty millions of naked or half-clothed inhabitants subjected to civilization, stimulated to industry, clothed in British fabrics, and, in return, producing abundantly those tropical products now become absolutely necessary, for the manufactures, the luxuries, and the necessities of life, amongst the civilized nations of the temperate zones. And with such interests involved in the success of Liberia, and with such power and influence enlisted in her support, humanly speaking, how can our Colonization scheme fail?

But we must hasten to a conclusion of this protracted discussion, and leave many points of additional interest untouched. Indeed nothing but the great importance of the bearings of the questions which have been investigated, can justify the occupation of so much time. The cause of humanity, however, demands that attention shall be given to these topics. Africa has long groaned hopelessly to be delivered from the deluge of woes which has for ages rolled over her. The dawn of her redemption is now appearing. The light of civilization and Christianity has broken forth upon her shores and begins to dispel the gloom of centuries. The slave traders, like so many spirits of darkness, are compelled to limit their hellish labors to districts yet unilluminated by that light. Nothing seems to be wanting to the accomplishment of Africa's redemption but a sufficient increase of the agencies which have already been productive of such rich fruits in Liberia. These agencies are being rapidly called into action. The Providence of God is operating upon the nations, most directly concerned in the question of Africa's future destiny, so as to make it their interest to favor the civilization of the inhabitants of that continent. Great Britain, as already shown, is enlisted by considerations, *commercial and manufacturing*, which she never overlooks, to aid in this great work of philanthropy. She *can* supply unlimited sums of money to stimulate enterprise and industry, and to promote civilization in Africa, and she *will* do it as fast as it can be profitably employed.

The people of France, having achieved their own liberties, soon pronounced the freedom of the slaves in their islands. France did not wait to calculate the political and commercial considerations involved in emancipation, before she obeyed the dictates of humanity. Herself free, she desired the freedom of the world. Having possession of many important points on the coast of Africa, she will crush the slave trade wherever she has control, and thus greatly aid in its suppression and in the promotion of African civilization. But as she has not within herself, the command of the agencies necessary to civilize the districts which she owns, she may find herself compelled to call upon the colored people of the United States to commence and carry on the work, and thus promote our colonization enterprise. And as France has already proved herself capable of acts of the greatest magnanimity, we must ask of her one favor, though it may seem, in us, an act of presumption. But as an American Republican, we can appeal to French Republicans. It is of the utmost importance to the Republic of Liberia, that it should have guaranteed to it, by other nations, the right to purchase and annex the whole line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Lopez, so that no other power may be allowed to interfere with the extension of its jurisdiction over that region. The Gaboon, now in the possession of France, lies at the southeastern limits of this region, and is one of the most valuable points in Africa. We ask of France, therefore, that she shall offer the Gaboon country, as a free gift, to the free colored people of the United States, upon which to form a new state in connexion with Liberia. And, from the circumstances under which her title to this

territory was acquired, during *the Monarchy*, it is believed that *the Republic*, when the subject is presented for its consideration, will yield it for that purpose.

The United States is also deeply interested in the success of Liberia, and is being involved in difficulties and perplexities propelling her onward to a point where she, too, must exert herself in behalf of the young Republic. Commercial and manufacturing interests will influence her, as they have already influenced Great Britain. But in addition to these, other considerations of far deeper import will soon press themselves upon our attention. The rapid increase of our slave population is beginning to alarm the stoutest advocates of the perpetuation of slavery. With their uniform ratio of increase continued, which, it will be remembered, is *three per cent. per annum*, in 50 years, from 1850, the slave population of the United States, will number 12,000,000, with an annual increase of 360,000. In 100 years hence, they will have increased to 41,500,000, with an annual increase of 1,300,000. And in 150 years their numbers will be 165,000,000, and the yearly increase 5,000,000.

Now, it is utterly impossible that this number of slaves can be held in bondage, or be profitably employed, by the southern states of our union, for half the period included in our calculation. But how emancipation is to be ultimately effected, we cannot foretell. This we know, that *it must be done*. The South is becoming aware of the difficulties of *the future of slavery*, and are beginning to look at its appalling consequences. Many states have already legislated to prevent the sale and transfer of the slaves of the more northern states into their bounds, and it would not be unexpected, if, in a few years, the slave holders of the more northern slave states, should be unable to find a market for their surplus slaves. And whenever this event occurs, the masters will soon be over-supplied with laborers *which they cannot employ profitably*, and emancipation must take place. And when ever this work commences, the work of Colonization to Africa will be greatly increased. Liberia, therefore, is to the southern states, as well as to those of the north, and to the nations of Europe, a point of very great interest. Not one of them, scarcely, can carry out their present policy without promoting the interests of our colony. In these facts we find an additional argument for the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

And further, if the scheme of tropical cultivation in Africa, by free labor, can be successfully carried out, at an early day, and of which we entertain but little doubt, the work of emancipation in this country may be forced to a consummation much more rapidly than many suppose. The United States, it must be borne in mind, have not one acre of tropical lands. *Our crops of cotton and sugar, are both liable to blight, by frosts, before they are fully matured and secured.* But it is not so in Africa. More than three fourths of the lands of that vast continent are within the tropics, and secure from the action of frosts. The employment of capital, in tropical cultivation in Africa, would long since have been extended to millions upon millions of dollars, but for the error committed in attempting it by *white men* and amongst *an uncivilized people*. This error is now detected and will not be repeated. The American Colonization Society has, by its efforts, dispelled the doubts and difficulties overhanging the question of African Civilization. Capital, in a few years, can be employed more profitably in Liberia than in the United States. Capital and labor will soon both find their way to Africa, and perhaps in modes not now anticipated. It is no uncommon occurrence now, for a slave holder, in this country, *to let his slave out on parole*, to earn a fixed price, upon the payment of which to the master, the slave is a freeman. It is very rare, in such cases, that a breach of faith occurs. Now, it may not be long, if the southern market should be closed against the sale of northern slaves, before this system of self-emancipation may be carried out upon a grand scale, *by masters bargaining with their slaves to emigrate to Liberia, there to earn the price of their freedom.* Such an arrangement would add to the amount of free labor products which must come into competition with those of the slave labor of our southern states. In this way Kentucky and Virginia could retaliate, with fearful effect, upon South Carolina and Louisiana.

But, as we hasten to a conclusion, we can only throw out suggestions without waiting to dwell upon them. We are fully aware, that the idea that tropical cultivation in Africa, can seriously affect the value of slave labor in the United States, for centuries to come, will be considered visionary. But we must ask all such doubters to recollect, that commercial revolutions occur almost as suddenly, in this age, as

political ones. The world has learned how to achieve great things in a short time. We western men have witnessed such wonders pass before our eyes, that we believe capital and labor, skill and enterprise, can accomplish any thing within the range of human power, and that what formerly required centuries for its consummation, can now be executed in months or years. Born in Ohio, when it was yet comparatively a wilderness, I, myself, have seen it rise to what it now is, and have also seen State after State called rapidly into existence, in the wilderness of the west, in less than half a century. And yet the sources of this prosperity and this progress are unexhausted and inexhaustible. No limits can be set to this progress but the impassable barriers of the great Pacific.

Give to Liberia intelligent and industrious *emigrants*, and she, too, will advance in prosperity and in greatness. The materials of such an emigration exist in the United States, and our colored men, generally, are only awaiting the evidences of the truth of what is said of Liberia. When convinced *that it is not a trap to enslave them again*, as they have been told, they will move with the heart of one man, as the Israelites of old removed from Egypt to Canaan. The sympathies of our colored men are with England and France. These nations possess their confidence more fully than Americans. England and France are both interested in blessing Africa with civilization. A formal invitation from these two governments, addressed to our free colored people, and asking them to emigrate to Liberia, under their protection and patronage, would enlist tens of thousands to remove at once to the young Republic. These emigrants, being settled at suitable points along the coast, would greatly aid in checking the slave trade, and thus, its risks being much increased, the British capital employed at present in that traffic, *would be withdrawn from Brazil and transferred to Liberia*. A large concentration of capital and labor in Africa, which are both practicable, would soon be felt, in the markets of the world, *by the increased supply of free labor tropical products brought into competition with those of slave labor*. When this event shall occur, as occur it will, a reduction of the value of slave labor must follow; and this together with the rapidly increasing bulk of the now unwieldy mass of our slave population, must greatly hasten the period of final emancipation.

Now, if the possession of the sovereignty of the soil of tropical Africa, and the control of its products, be of such vast political and commercial importance to such governments as France and England, as their policy towards Africa, heretofore, so fully indicates; we would respectfully enquire of our colored people, whether their possession and control are not of equal importance and value to African men themselves? And, if the monopoly of tropical products once secured to Englishmen an ascendancy among nations; will not the same advantages be of equal importance to African men, and afford to them the means of rising into national greatness and national glory? And, further, if Africa is of such importance to European nations, that they will expend millions of dollars to secure to themselves the advantages of its products and its commerce; what will posterity, what will the world say, of those of our African population, *who refuse to receive such a rich inheritance, though offered to their acceptance as a free gift?* And, again, if the destruction of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, be matters of such vast moral importance as to call for the united efforts of Christian men, throughout the world, to destroy them; and if these greatest of all modern moral enterprises, inferior only to our purely missionary efforts, cannot be accomplished, but by our Christian colored men forming themselves into a rampart around the African coast; and if colored men can, by engaging in this great moral and religious movement, better their own condition and secure to themselves and their children, and ultimately to the millions of Africa, all the blessings of social, civil, and religious liberty; why should we not urge them to a fair and candid consideration of the question of returning to Africa as civilized and christianized men, to take peaceful possession of that ancient inheritance from which their uncivilized and pagan forefathers were forcibly torn?

But we shall not further weary your patience. We had designed presenting an argument for the success of the Republic of Liberia, based upon the innate moral principle existing within her, and growing out of the religious freedom secured to her citizens, and the ample means of religious instruction provided for her people. But we forbear.

A L E C T U R E
ON
AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.
INCLUDING A BRIEF OUTLINE
OF THE
SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF AFRICA;
AND THE RELATIONS OF
AMERICAN SLAVERY TO AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF THE STATE OF OHIO, JANUARY 19, 1850.

BY DAVID CHRISTY,
AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED BY J. H. RILEY & CO.,
PRINTED BY SCOTT & BASCOM.
1853.

COLUMBUS, Feb 5th, 1850.

DEAR SIR :—The undersigned members of the General Assembly of Ohio, being desirous of securing to the public the means of fully and calmly investigating the subject of the provision which ought to be made for our colored people, and, believing that the facts contained in your Lecture on African Civilization, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the 19th ult., would materially aid in the promotion of that object, we would respectfully request a copy of the same for publication.

To DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.
Agent of the African Colonization Society.

GEO. W. BULL,
J. S. WHITON,
H. B. SPELMAN,
JAMES M. BURT,
DAVID DRESBACK,
DANIEL KELLER,
JOHN A. WEYER,
S. S. SPRAGUE,
S. LUTZ,
DENNIS SMITH,
E. B. FEE,
ANDREW FERGUSON,
WM. P. SIMPSON,
FISHER A. BLOCKSOM,
JOHN GRAHAM,
J. H. DUBBS,
V. CHASE,

H. G. BLAKE,
ANSELM T. HOLCOMB,
RICHARD GREEN,
JAMES RODGERS,
JOSHUA WORLEY,
J. F. PATTON,
J. S. COPELAND,
M. R. WAITE,
WM. B. FAIRCHILD,
SETH WOODFORD,
JOHN BEAVER,
MILLER MOODY,
WM. GIVEN,
JOHN GILL,
SAMUEL PATTERSON,
J. S. CONKLIN,
G. W. BARKER,

WM. LAWRENCE,
E. K. ECKLEY,
H. B. PAYNE,
W. DENNISON, JR.,
SAMUEL T. WORCESTER,
GEO. D. HENDRICKS,
RUEL BEESON,
CHAUNCEY N. OLDS,
PINKNEY LEWIS,
H. VINAL,
W. HOWARD,
BARNABUS BURNS,
JAMES CUNNINGHAM,
J. W. WILSON,
JAMES MYERS,
M. S. MUSTIN.

GENTLEMEN :—It affords me pleasure to comply with your request for the publication of my *Lecture on African Civilization, as connected with, and dependent upon, American Colonization*; my only cause of regret being, that more of time and of talent has not been employed in its discussion, than it has been in my power to devote to the subject.

Since I had the honor, one year ago, of addressing the Representatives of the people of Ohio, on the subject of African Colonization, many events have transpired which serve to encourage us in our great work. One or two of these I may mention. Dispatches from President Roberts, recently received, state that agreements are now about completed for the purchase, from the native authorities, of the territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and that he is only awaiting the arrival of funds to perfect the titles. The effect of buying this region, and extending over it the laws of Liberia, will be the total suppression of the slave trade, and the emancipation from slavery, of the population included within its limits—numbering, perhaps, over 100,000 men. But the principal point of importance, connected with this movement, is the fact that the purchase now being made, to a considerable extent, will be paid for by the liberal donation of \$5000, by CHARLES M'ICKEN, Esq., of Cincinnati, and that the lands purchased by his donation, are to be presented, *as a free gift, to the colored people of Ohio*, to afford them an opportunity of putting forth all their energies, intellectual and moral, in aiding to impart to Africa, a Christian Civilization. And a still further subject of interest presents itself, in the very recent movement of some of the intelligent colored men of Ohio, who are adopting preparatory measures to take possession of this territory at the earliest practicable moment.

Yours, respectfully,

DAVID CHRISTY.

LECTURE

ON

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

THE close of the last century exhibited the social and moral condition of the world in such an aspect as to prove the excellency of Christianity over all other religious systems. Paganism had long since wrought out its legitimate results, and demonstrated its impotency to produce a high degree of human happiness. Mohammedanism, a shade better in its principles, had progressed but little beyond Paganism in promoting the welfare of its votaries. Both of these systems, constructed on principles consonant with fallen human nature, were, of necessity, becoming effete, and stood before the world as gigantic edifices, whose foundations were giving way, and the whole structures tumbling into ruins.

Christianity, embracing principles antagonistic to all impurity and every form of injustice, and demanding of men implicit obedience to God, was no welcome visitor upon earth, but had to endure, from its earliest introduction, the most bitter enmity and the most sanguinary opposition. At the end of 330 years from Christ, in addition to the hostility of the Jews, it had passed through ten successive persecutions by the Roman Emperors, which, failing to suppress it, only served to prove that the religion of the Saviour of the world was *indestructible*.

When, therefore, despots discovered their inability to annihilate the new religion, combinations were formed to adopt it in the room of preëxisting systems, or rather, perhaps, to engraft it upon them, and mould it to suit their purposes. But notwithstanding that Christianity was thus corrupted and perverted into an engine of political and ecclesiastical despotism, it still retained much of its innate vitality, and greatly advanced the social and moral welfare of those subjected to its influence; thus proving its superiority over the false religious systems which had so long prevailed.

It being an essential element of the religion revealed by Christ to generate *independence of thought*, its believers were often found

holding opinions at variance with those established by law. These tendencies, it was feared, would make the unrestrained toleration of Christianity dangerous to Despotism, because freedom of thought and of speech, allowed to the people, would weaken confidence in the infallibility of the judgment of kings, and thus peril the stability of thrones. The art of printing being undiscovered, the *living teacher*, for a long period, was the chief agency for the propagation of the new faith. To silence his voice, when not in unison with despotic will, it was conceived, would limit independence of thought, and the desired uniformity of opinion and implicit obedience to rulers be secured. Hence arose efforts, extending through many centuries, and leading to the shedding of torrents of blood, to force upon the world a unity of faith. But the employment of the rack and the dungeon, the gibbet and the stake, only tended more fully to evolve another inherent principle of the doctrines taught by the Son of God—the *natural equality of mankind, and the individual responsibility of man to God, demanding for the human race equal rights and liberty of conscience.*

A doctrine so inconsistent with preconceived opinions, and fraught, it was perceived, with such dangers to civil and ecclesiastical despotisms, could not but lead to the most vigorous exertions for its suppression. Success so far attended their efforts, that the light of the Gospel became dimmed and ages of darkness ensued, during which despotism reposed in safety amid the moral night it had produced, until the forgotten Bible, chained within walls of massive stone, as if to hide it from the people, was discovered by the master-spirit of his age, and its divine light made to reillumine the world.

The occurrence of this event with the nearly simultaneous discovery of the art of printing, which led to a rapid and indefinite multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, now imposed upon despots the double task, of exterminating the living teacher, and of preventing the circulation of the printed Bible. Persecution again followed persecution, until, under the guidance of a kind Providence, a few of the advocates of civil and religious liberty, fleeing for their lives from Europe, Bible in hand, found a refuge in the new world. Here the legitimate fruits of Christianity, when untrammelled by the devices of men, were soon developed, and the American Republic arose, as a beacon to the world, teaching what a *Free Christianity* can accomplish for mankind.

In the mean time the principles of religious liberty had gained some favor in a few of the nations of Europe, and produced their appropriate results, though in a more limited degree than in the United States, because religion was left less free. And thus there was a progressive movement on both sides of the Atlantic, leading to a higher civilization and a greater sum of human happiness than the older systems had ever produced, or than has yet been attained where they still prevail.

Near the close of the last century, therefore, the contrast could be clearly drawn between Paganism, Mohammedanism, a Christianity

excluding the Bible from the people and modeled to fetter the freedom of thought and of speech, and a free Christianity taking the Bible alone as its basis, and, without the intervention of any human agent, placing the soul of man directly in communion with God. The effects of these various systems, in advancing or retarding human happiness, and in promoting or checking civilization, had become so manifest, that the Christian philanthropist, acting under the impulses of the law of love, resolved upon giving to the world a *Free Christianity*.

It is unnecessary, before an intelligent audience, to enumerate the obstacles which impede the progress of the agents employed to bestow a Free Christianity upon the world, with the view of securing to mankind a higher civilization and increased enjoyment in this life, as well as to impart to the hearts of men the hope of eternal happiness in the world to come. It is only necessary to our present purpose to say, that, in all these efforts there has been no field selected which was so dark and unpromising, and none that so long baffled all exertions, and so utterly failed of success, as that of Africa previous to the colonization of its coast by civilized and Christian colored men. The facts in relation to this subject were fully presented in our lecture, one year ago, in this hall. It is there shown that two hundred and forty years of effort by the Catholics, and one hundred and forty by Protestant missionaries, including the period of the operations of our Liberia Colony, had proved, conclusively, that the redemption of Africa from barbarism cannot be accomplished by *white men*, but that *colored men* must be employed in that vast work of benevolence. It was also proved, that the slave trade, after the expenditure, by England, of more than one hundred millions of dollars for its suppression, instead of being diminished in extent, has been steadily and rapidly increasing; and that the conviction is forced upon the public mind, that this greatest of crimes against humanity can only be suppressed by surrounding the coast with colonies of intelligent colored men, who must be protected and sustained by Christian governments until the civilization of the native population can be effected.

The important truth being ascertained, that the agents in the civilization of Africa must be men of African blood, the great question which presses itself upon the consideration of the philanthropist and the Christian, is this: Where can we obtain colored men in sufficient numbers, who are properly educated and enlightened, and who are themselves the subjects of redeeming grace, to act as agents in bestowing a Christian civilization upon Africa?

To answer this question, is a prominent object of the present lecture. But, to obtain a just conception of the magnitude of the work that lies before us, it becomes necessary to determine the extent and character of the social and moral evils existing in Africa; and this is the more necessary, because of the prevalence of the opinion, that the degradation of Africa is chiefly due to the slave trade. Our investigations, we believe, will fully sustain the truth of the assertion, that even if it were possible to break up the slave trade by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity

and little good accomplished for Africa; and that if the benevolent designs toward the African race, which so generally prevail among good men, be executed, there must be a union of effort of all the friends of this oppressed people, in supporting and extending the work of colonization in Africa; and further, that the United States is placed in such a peculiar position, as clearly to indicate that we alone, of all the nations in the world, are able to give to Africa that form of Christianity and of civil government which will secure to her the highest degree of civilization and the greatest amount of prosperity. The materials collected have been arranged under the following heads.

- I. The social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade.
- II. The modifications produced by the slave trade upon the social and moral condition of Africa.
- III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

I. The earlier travelers in Africa, meeting with many acts of kindness, formed favorable opinions of the natives, and the impression has been created, that the greater part of the evils oppressing that country have had their origin in the slave trade, and are not a necessary consequence of her own social and moral condition. A better acquaintance with the state of the interior has tended to correct the first impressions. The iron despotism of their kings, the absoluteness of their domestic slavery, the objects of their idolatrous worship, the modes of performing their religious rites, the cruel superstitions existing everywhere, their degrading customs, their human sacrifices, their cannibalism, it was discovered, must have dated their origin far back beyond the period of the commencement of the slave trade, and produced the most debasing effects upon the inhabitants. The slave trade, it was evident, had not originated the *greater evils* under which Africa groaned, *but was itself one of the legitimate fruits of the social and moral degradation previously existing and still perpetuated on that continent.* A brief statement of facts will prove the accuracy of the view here presented.

When England, in 1808, prohibited the slave trade, it was anticipated that, as this traffic diminished, and a legitimate commerce increased, the civilization of the African people would necessarily be accomplished. While she had the monopoly of the slave trade, she had erected many forts on the coast of Africa, and on declaring it illegal and commencing her operations for its suppression, they were immediately transformed into trading posts for opening up a legal commerce with the natives. This change of policy, requiring many agents to reside on the coast and to visit the interior, soon made the world better acquainted with Africa.

As the power of Great Britain was considered almost omnipotent, it was not doubted at first, but that the slave trade would be annihilated through her influence and exertions, and the consequent civilization of Africa immediately follow. But *the elements of*

civilization were not then so well understood as at present. It was believed that to extend *commerce* was to extend civilization. The commerce conducted between the enlightened nations of Europe, it was known, had greatly promoted their civilization. It was soon found, however, that the causes of African degradation lay deeper than had been conceived. The difference between the intellectual and moral capacities of the civilized and uncivilized man was found to be almost infinite. The horrible superstitions by which the minds of the people of Africa had been darkened and bewildered must first be eradicated before civilization could progress. Commerce, unaided, it was soon demonstrated, could not accomplish this work. An active commerce at Cape Messurado, conducted for three hundred and fifty years, had failed to advance the natives a single step toward civilization. Similar results had followed elsewhere. Barbarous tribes, then as now, it was discovered, were incapable of comprehending moral truth while in the savage state; and could only be brought under its influence by a careful course of moral teaching. But the appetites and passions of their natures being the same as with other men, *commerce unavoidably imparted to them the vices of civilization, and introduced among them the elements of physical destruction, instead of planting the seeds of moral renovation.* The result of missionary efforts elsewhere, had led to the discovery that the light of the gospel must be let into the soul before the darkness of heathenism, in which it was shrouded, could be dissipated, and the intellectual and moral elevation of the people be promoted. Christianity, the only parent of a pure morality, it had been perceived, was the *primary element* in raising men from barbarism, and that civilization, industry, and commerce were necessary fruits of the gospel wherever planted. These facts being observed, though as yet but dimly and by few, led to efforts for the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the missionaries thus employed furnished to the world additional light upon the subject of its social and moral condition. The establishment of colonies upon the coast has also afforded further opportunities of investigation and supplied fuller information in relation to the terrible moral gloom overshadowing Africa.

It is, then, from the investigations of British agents, travelers, missionaries and colonists, that we derive our facts in relation to the social and moral condition of Africa.

We shall begin with their *human sacrifices*. According to their ideas, the future world will be a counterpart of this; will present the same objects to the senses, the same enjoyments, and the same distinction of ranks in society. Upon this belief are founded proceedings not only absurd, but of the most violent and atrocious description. A profusion of wealth is buried in the grave of the deceased, who is supposed to carry it into the other world: and human victims are sacrificed, often in whole hecatombs, under the delusion that they will attend as his guards and ministers in the future mansion. This savage superstition seems to have prevailed to a peculiar extent in those

great interior monarchies, which, in other respects, are more civilized than the rest of Western Africa.

The Ashantees have two annual customs, as they are called, says Mr. Bowditch, a British agent, of 1819, in which the King, and chief men, seek to propitiate the departed spirits of their ancestors, by the sacrifice of a crowd of human victims. Foreign slaves and criminals are selected in preference, but as each seeks to multiply the number, unprotected persons cannot walk abroad without the hazard of being seized and immolated. At the death of any of the royal family, victims must bleed in thousands; and the same is the case when the king seeks from the powers above, favorable omens respecting any great projected undertaking. On the death of the king, a most horrid scene of human slaughter takes place; all the sacrifices that had been made for the death of every subject during his reign being required to be repeated, to amplify that for the death of the monarch, and to solemnize it in every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously among the crowd. Few persons of rank dare stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but drive forth their slaves as a composition for their own absence. The king's household slaves are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. As the king is allowed three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives, and as the immolation of the wife on the death of the husband is customary in Africa, it is probable that many of the slaughtered women are the wives of the king, despatched to attend their deceased lord in another world. The king of Ashantee, otherwise a very amiable and benevolent sovereign, on the death of his mother, says Mr. Bowditch, devoted three thousand victims to water her grave, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.

That this is no fabled account of the cruel superstitions of Ashantee, is evident from very recent testimony. As late as 1844, intelligence from Liberia, published in the *African Repository*, states that at the death of the late king, one thousand human victims were sacrificed.

The kingdom of Dahomey is governed upon the same system as Ashantee, and with all its deformities—which it carries to a still more violent excess. The bloody customs take place on a still greater scale; and the bodies of the victims, says Mr. B., instead of being buried, are hung upon the walls, and allowed to putrify. Human skulls make the favorite ornament of the palaces and temples, and the king has his sleeping apartment paved with them.

This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the Rev. J. L. Wilson, missionary in Western Africa, in 1839, who writes, that “human sacrifices are still offered in great numbers, not only in Ashantee, but in all the petty principalities of the surrounding country. The story that the king of Dahomey has his yard paved with human skulls is no fable. There are Europeans on the coast who have seen it, and can bear witness to the truth of the statement.”

Governor Abson, of Cape Coast Castle, visited the king of Dahomey

at a time when six slave ships were at Whydah, anxious to make purchases, and when, owing to the scarcity of slaves, the prices had risen to nearly thirty pounds. But such was the strength of superstition over avarice, that the king refused to sell his prisoners to the slave traders, preferring to put them to death for their skulls, in the contemplation of which the people seemed to take a horrible delight. When the governor inquired of the king, if his going to war was not to obtain captives to sell to the slave traders, he replied, "I have killed many thousands without thinking of the slave market, and shall kill many thousands more. Some heads I place at my door, others I throw into the market place, that people may stumble over them. This gives a grandeur to my customs; this makes my enemies fear me; and this pleases my ancestors, to whom I send them. Dahomeans do not make war to make slaves, but to make prisoners to kill at the customs."

The king of Dahomey used to hold a constant communication with his deceased father. Whenever he wished to announce to him any remarkable event, or to consult him on any emergency, he would send for one of his ablest messengers, and after delivering to him his errand, chop off his head. It sometimes happened, that after the head was off, he recollected something else which he wished to say, in which case a second messenger was dispatched, in like manner, with a postscript to his former message. Gov. Abson was present on an occasion of this kind. The poor fellow selected for the honor of bearing his majesty's message, aware of what was to happen, declared he was unacquainted with the road, on which the tyrant, drawing his sword, vociferated, "I'll show you the way," and with one blow severed his head from his body—highly indignant that an European should have witnessed the least expression of reluctance in the performance of a duty which is considered a great honor.

Such seems to have been the inefficiency of British arrangements on the coast, at the period when Mr. Bowditch visited Africa; and such the want of moral influence exerted by the residents over the natives, that Sir James Yeo informed the committee of African merchants, that the impotence of their outposts were such, that they could not even prevent the offering of human sacrifices under their walls. Two victims, says Mr. B., had been sacrificed, with the most refined barbarity, in *broad day*, close to the fort of Accra.

Human sacrifices, on a more limited scale, seem to be of common occurrence. The Rev. Mr. Schon, of the English Church Missionary Society, who accompanied the Niger Expedition in 1843, says that human sacrifices are offered by the Ibo people, residing one hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the Niger. The usual modes of destroying life are to fasten the victims to the branches of trees close to the river and leave them to famish, or to tie their legs together and drag them from place to place until they expire, when the bodies are cast into the river to be devoured by alligators. In a tour of exploration along the coast, in 1839, the Rev. J. L. Wilson says, "We were informed that only a few days previous to our arrival, a neighboring chief had, in consequence of an eclipse of the sun, which

was regarded as ominous of approaching calamity, buried several of his subjects alive; and it was not known how many more would be subjected to the same fate."

On the gold coast, the shark is worshipped by the inhabitants. Every year, says Dr. Porter, the inhabitants of Bonney doom a guiltless child to expiate, with its life, the follies and crimes of its destroyers. The poor babe is named for this bloody rite at its birth, from which time it is called their Jewjew, and allowed every indulgence that its fancy can wish for, until it arrives at nine or ten years of age, when its sanguinary doom must be fulfilled. Its tears and lamentations avail not; its parents have placed their feelings of nature on the altar of a mistaken devotion; it is therefore left alone to plead with those that hope to benefit by its destruction. The sharks collect as if in expectation of the dainty meal being prepared for them. The spot chosen is a point of sand, into which a stake is driven at low water mark. The mother sees her innocent offspring bound to this, and as the tide advances, left alone. Various noises are made to drown the cries of the terrified child. Its little hands are seen imploring, and its lips calling for her aid; the water soon reaches the stake, and the greedy monsters are seen by the tender victim quickly approaching with the deepening tide. The shouting mob stand watching the stake until the advancing tide has emboldened the sharks to approach their prey—then their dreadful revelry begins. No tear is shed for the poor sufferer, but the day is concluded with rejoicing and festivities.

But we will only trespass upon your patience so far as to present one more case under this part of our investigations. The *Liberia Luminary*, of 1848, gives an account of the sacrifice of a human being, a short time previous, under circumstances which prove that there is no abatement of the power of superstition over men's minds in Africa, where the light of the gospel has not been reflected.

A famous Goulah chief, anxious for success in a military campaign upon which he was setting out against the Condoes, applied to a Mahomedan priest to know what he should do to insure success. The priest inquired of him whether he was *able* to make the necessary sacrifice, to which he replied that he could make any sacrifice that could be named. The nefarious imposter then told him he must sacrifice his son! and, taking his dead body upon his shoulders, his feet swung around his neck, and his head hung behind him, in this manner advance before his troops to the contest, and victory would be certain!! The directions were complied with. Calling his son into a house, he caught him, deliberately tied him, and then, with his own parental hand, he cut his throat! Having offered this sacrifice, he and his troops prepared to advance toward the jurisdiction of their enemies; then was this inhuman father seen with his dead son on his back, in the manner directed, without any display of parental affection or of emotion, save that aroused in his barbarous breast by the confident expectation of victory. Being successful in three subsequent engagements, this horrible sacrifice will, no doubt, be hereafter considered as the sure precursor of victory.

Such was African superstition in 1848, and such will it continue to be until Christianity dispels the gloom which overcasts the native mind.

We turn now to African *Idolatry*. The native Africans, generally, have very obscure conceptions of the nature and attributes of God and of a future state of moral retribution; while almost every superstition that can degrade the human mind reigns in full sway.

To express generally what is sacred, what is forbidden, what is endowed with supernatural powers, either beneficent or malignant, they employ the term *fetiche* or *gri-gri*. Everything which strikes the fancy of a negro is made his *fetiche*. This word is derived either from the Portuguese word *fetisso*, a block adored as an idol, or from *feticzeira*, an enchantress. The Portuguese gave the name to the idols of the negroes on the Senegal, and afterward the word received a more extensive meaning. The general signification now given to *fetiche*, seems to be, an object worshipped, not representing any living figure. The grand natural fetiches are rocks, hills, or trees of remarkable size and beauty. But there are fantastic objects of veneration, which each individual adopts and carries about with him. Such are a piece of ornamented wood, the teeth of a dog, tiger, or elephant, a goat's head, a fish bone, or the end of a ram's horn. They believe the material substances which they worship to be endowed with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil: and also that the *fetichere*, or priest, being in council with their *fetiche*, is made acquainted with all that those divinities know, and thence is familiar with the most secret thoughts and actions of men. The household, or family *fetiche*, narrowly inspects the conduct of every individual in the house, and rewards or punishes each according to his deserts. The public *fetiches* are supposed to be equally watchful over community in general.

These *fetiches* they set up in the houses, the fields, or the entrance and center of the villages, erect altars to them, and place before them dishes of rice, maize, and fruits. The better sort of families have weekly festivals on which they sacrifice a cock or sheep. This *gri-gri* or *fetiche* worship is universal, and hours would not suffice to detail the particulars connected with it, or the debasing influence which it exerts over the mind. The Rev. Mr. Schon found it practiced far up the Niger. He says, 1843, "They showed me their gods. Under a small shade erected before almost every house, among the people of Iddah, were broken pots, pieces of yams, feathers of fowls, horns of animals, broken bows and arrows, knives and spears. Such are their gods! It is easy to attack them or to expose them to ridicule, but not so easy to eradicate the superstitious belief in them from out of the hearts of men."

The framing of these fantastic objects of African worship, consecrating them, and selling them at enormous prices, forms the chief occupation of the African priesthood. Various are the expedients resorted to by these priests, or *gri-gri* men, to obtain presents from the people, by operating on their superstitious notions. One mode is

by teaching that food must be placed at the graves of the dead for the deceased person. The Rev. J. L. Wilson visited one town, where the bones of the deceased king, who had been dead many years, have been enclosed in a box, and deposited in a house appropriated exclusively for this purpose. Fresh food, water, and every comfort which a living man could wish, are daily deposited in the house. These provisions, the people are told by a *gri-gri man*, who statedly visited the place to hold converse with the deceased majesty, are devoured by the king. Mr. Wilson, after some difficulty, obtained leave to enter this sacred place, through the small opening affording admittance, and found a bed, chairs, table, &c., used, no doubt, by the superintending priest during his visits.

But in addition to the fétiche idol worship, *idolatry* of the more common form among pagans, seems also to be practised in Africa.

In 1833, the Rev. Mr. Schon wrote the Church Missionary Society, from Sierra Leone, that he had been assured that idol worship was practised in the town, but that those engaged in it, desired to evade detection. Seeing a number of people surrounding a house, he went to the spot and found indications convincing him that some idolatrous ceremonies were being conducted within doors. Attempting to enter, he was repulsed. Returning some time afterward, in company with another missionary, and removing a little of the thatching, he looked in and beheld ten or twelve women prostrated before a hideous idol. Finding themselves discovered, the natives were thrown into the greatest confusion, and opening the door, allowed the missionaries to enter. The mere view, says Mr. Schon, was sufficient to fill the mind with horror. The large idol actually represented the devil, with a blood-stained face and two horns. Before him stood a water pot half filled with the blood of animals that were sacrificed to him. In another corner of the room were smaller idols and *gri-gris*, lying and hanging in great number; and fowls, which were sacrificed to them, were lying in their blood on the floor of the room.

Another peculiar form of the African superstition is their *Devil-worship*. The people cherish the general belief of a future state, little connected, however, with any idea of moral retribution. The question is, whether they have faithfully observed the promise made to the *fétiche*. They uniformly, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, ascribe the works of creation to God, but regard the devil as the author of all providence. Hence will be seen at every entrance into their towns, a *gri-gri pole*, with a rag upon it, or something of the kind, either to prevent his entrance, or conciliate his favor. They never open trade on board of a ship, without pouring a libation of rum into the water, as a portion with which the devil is particularly pleased.

The Rev. Mr. Wynkoop states, that at all the entrances in the enclosure, or roads to the town, are small houses called the *grand devil-house*, where the people deposite different articles in them to conciliate his dreaded majesty. These presents, of course, form a part of the perquisites of the priests.

Dr. A. C. Wilson, writing from the station at Fishtown, 1840, says, "Today there was a bullock sacrificed to conciliate the devil, asking those favors of him that should be asked of God, and giving him the honor which belongs to Jehovah alone."

The God whom the Africans are supposed to worship, says Dr. McDowell, who spent some time at the colonies, has been called the "*devil*," by European visitors. The place selected for the performance of the mysteries connected with his worship, is in the center of some thick forest, called the *gri-gri bush*, or *devil-bush*. The influence which it is made to exercise over the people generally, is partly superstitious, partly political. The chiefs or head men meet once a month, and offer goats or other animals, as a sacrifice to this evil being or devil. Into this sacred forest no woman or boy is allowed to intrude, the penalty being death, foreign slavery, or a fine. The young freemen of the tribe are initiated into manhood by being taken into the *devil bush*, where they are shown a wooden cross erected, and a loud hoarse voice addresses them from the deep recesses of the wood, telling them certain things they must not do, upon the penalty of being seized by the evil demon, or spirit, and hung upon the cross to be an example to others. These instructions, as might have been expected, are of a purely selfish character, having reference to themselves and their own tribe.

After any one has been initiated into these *gri-gri* mysteries, and offends the chiefs, they are liable to be taken into the *devil-bush*, from which they never return. Nor dare any one ask, "Where is he?" "The devil has taken him," ends all further inquiry or hope, and his friends must not mourn for him. If a chief suffers in this way, his people and his wives must suffer along with him, unless by timely notice from the priest, they desert the doomed one, and attach themselves to another chief or tribe before the arrival of the day of execution.

When Bob Gray, chief at Grand Bassa, sold the *devil-bush*, which now forms a part of the settlement of Edina, to the Agent of the American Colonization Society, the whole surrounding tribes were about to arm against him for his impiety, and he had to pay a heavy fine, as well as solicit the protection of the colony to save his head.

The Methodist church now stands not far from the spot where the blood of the victims of their superstition and cruelty has flowed profusely. Many a wretch has been dragged into the depths of that forest gloom never to return.

The superstitions of the African tribes seem to be the operation of a wild veneration manifested in the form of vague fears of some evil influence being continually impending over them, which they try to obviate by the performance of some ridiculous mummeries, and suspending round their persons their *gri-gri*s. Out of this feeling arises the common belief in *Witchcraft*, and the overwhelming superstitious credulity which everywhere prevails, affording to the priests immense power over the inhabitants. Dark and magical rites, numberless incantations and barbarous customs, are continually

practised, and in the power of which the people have unbounded confidence; and such is their influence upon the general mind, that they are accompanied by all the terrors that the dread of a malignant being and the fear of unknown evil can invest them.

In the attempts to bewitch any one, the usual mode of operation is said to be, to take a gourd or vessel, containing, among other ingredients, a combination of different colored rags, cats' teeth, parrots' feathers, toads' feet, eggshells, fishbones, snakes' teeth, and lizards' tails. This is secretly placed near the dwelling of the person intended to be brought under its influence, and upon whom the operator wishes to inflict an injury. Terror immediately seizes the individual, and either by resigning himself to despair, or by the secret communication of poison, in most cases, death is the inevitable consequence.

Upon the death of any one, therefore, suspicion is excited that he has been bewitched or poisoned, by some one, and the friends invariably institute an inquiry into the question of who had "*made witch*," for the deceased. The power of determining this question rests with their priests, and of course constitutes one of the chief sources of their influence over the people. The instances of cruelty growing out of these trials are frequent and horrible. A certain number of witnesses are selected, and every individual who can be an object of suspicion is required to plunge his hand into a pot of boiling oil. If innocent, it is alleged, he suffers no pain; if guilty, his hand is severely burnt. Should the person thus found guilty, assert his innocence, he is subjected to another, and what everybody regards as a sure and infallible test, that is to swallow a strong and large potation of *sass-wood*. It either produces death, or violent and distressing vomiting. The quantity of the tea, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1836, that is given to the man, when his accusers are bent on his destruction, is altogether incredible—enough, were there no poisonous qualities in it, to destroy the life of any one. Several deaths occurred from this practice, near Mr. Wilson's station, but he finally succeeded in putting a stop to such glaring injustice and cruelty.

But this cruel mode of trial is still prevalent outside of the colonies and mission stations. The journal of the Rev. Mr. Payne, of the Protestant Episcopal Mission, Dec. 9, 1848, records the death of three women, in rapid succession, from this ordeal, who had been accused of causing the death of a man wounded in battle. Upon Mr. Payne remonstrating strongly and endeavoring to put a stop to the work of death, the chief accosted him thus: "Payne, what kind of a man are you? We are trying to rid ourselves of the witches who have caused our late reverses, and you are angry? We verily thought the *deya*, who declared these women to be witches, lied; but, behold, on trial, all prove guilty!!" "Alas," adds Mr. Payne, "for a bloody superstition which receives new strength from every additional victim! Help Lord, for vain is the help of man."

The cases arising under this means of detecting supposed crim-

inals are numerous, one only, in addition, will be presented. The *Liberia Herald*, 1844, says, "Directly after the death of King Shaka, of the Gallinas, a secret inquisition was set on foot to ferret out the *witch-man*. For a long time the search was fruitless; at length a *gri-gri man*, by continued incantations and daring diabolical communications, succeeded, and the hapless regicide was brought to light. Confronted with his accuser, he protested that he was innocent—the *doctor* protested he was guilty, and the all-discovering ordeal was resorted to, to decide the question. Of course the man was condemned to die, and as King Shaka was *big king too much*—the severity of the punishment was proportioned to the dignity of the deceased. Sentence was pronounced and thus executed—the man was taken to the mouth of the river, his tongue cut out, and he thrown alive to the sharks.

"This ordeal," continues the *Herald*, "is a most powerful engine of state policy in Africa. It is the right arm of an African monarch. He has only to keep on terms with the *doctors* or *gri-gri men*, who are the constituted inquisitors, and nothing is easier than to rid himself, at any time, of a dangerous or aspiring subject. Whether the ordeal be the *sassy water*, the *boiling oil*, or the *heated iron*, they are never at a loss for means to produce any result they wish. If it be the first process, they weaken or strengthen the decoction, and increase or lessen the quantity so as to render it innocent or fatal, just as interest or inclination may lead. If the second or third, they can, by previous application of some preparation to the part to be operated upon, enable it, for a short time, to resist the effect of heat; and then, by hurrying the ordeal, the accused escapes unscathed. If they conclude to murder the victim, they reverse the operation, and guilt is as clear as noonday. Thus this system puts the life of the whole community in the hands of this class of men, and renders it a formidable fraternity of conjurers."

Polygamy, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1834, is universal. A man's importance in society is according to the number of his wives. These are regarded as his property, and in reality are his servants. They are usually purchased at a very early age. One of the wives in any family is the mistress of the others, and is honored by them as such. They are all in strict subjection to their husbands, and not unfrequently are severely chastised for the slightest offense. The women perform all the drudgery. At the age of about twelve the females are taken to the *devil-bush*, and retained for something like two years. They are under the care of the *grand devil-man*, who, at stated times, rushes out into the midst of them, and utters his oracles. They are induced to believe that he is a supernatural being, and his dress and manner both confirm it. So far as the object of this confinement could be learned, it was to prepare them for the duties of life—one of the chief of which is to make a full and unreserved communication of everything they may know to their husbands.

In 1839, Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the east coast of Africa, says, "That in all the tribes bigamy was common. No sacredness was attached to the marriage relation. They retain their

wives as long as they are pleased with them, and then sell them. In some tribes one man would have from one to twenty wives. The Manomosis sometimes have as high as eighty. Wives are bought and sold. The females do the work; men work till they obtain wherewith to buy a wife, then work no more, only trade and fight."

It has been stated already, that the king of Ashantee, 1819, kept three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives. All the female sex is considered as at the king's disposal, says Mr. Bowditch, and an annual assemblage takes place, when, having made a large selection for himself, he distributes the remainder among his grandees, who are bound to receive them with the humblest gratitude.

The number of wives possessed by the king of Dahomey equalled those of the king of Ashantee. The stoutest of them, says Mr. Bowditch, were enrolled into a military regiment, regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers: and according to the testimony of several Europeans, went through the exercise with great precision. Governor Abson was present at Abomey when the king marched against the Eyoos, on which occasion he was attended by a body guard of eight hundred women.

English papers, for May, 1849, brought us some details of recent negotiations by an English agent, with the king of Dahomey, from which we learn that the number of his armed women is near six thousand at present. They constitute his body guard, and never leave him, and are answerable for the safety of his person.

It was the boast of the king of Eyoos, that his queens, linked hand in hand, would reach from one end of the kingdom to the other. These women, says Mr. Bowditch, act as the king's body-guards, perform the most menial offices, and are seen in every part of the kingdom, carrying on their heads heavy burdens from place to place, favored only with an exemption from ordinary toil.

But we need not multiply quotations. Enough is given to prove that one of the greatest evils which can mar the social condition of any people—polygamy—prevails to a vastly greater extent in Africa than in any other portion of the world.

Next in order comes the *domestic slavery of Africa*. In addition to the degrading customs and cruel superstitions, which cannot have had their origin in the slave trade, slavery, to a frightful extent, exists in Africa, and the wars and demoralization produced by ambition or the hope of making prisoners, for slaves, and to secure plunder, would still continue if slavery in all the world beside were abolished. On this subject the materials are ample, but we must limit ourselves to some of the more prominent facts. This view was forced upon the mind of Burkhardt, the African traveler, who, on concluding his labors, says, "Europe will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, which is trifling compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent."

Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the eastern coast of Africa,

says that "slavery is common in all the tribes. They buy their own people. Some Manomoisies own four or five hundred slaves."

Major Denham, the English traveler, states, that on the occasion of the marriage of the shiek of Bornou with the daughter of the sultan of Mandara, a combined expedition was sent against the Musgow nation, which, after a desperate struggle, brought in three thousand slaves; and the nuptials were celebrated with barbaric pomp, furnished out of the tears and captivity of so many victims."

The Major further states, that, "For the last eight years the shiek of Bornou has carried on a very desperate and bloody war with the sultan of Begharmi, who governs a powerful and warlike people, inhabiting a very large tract of country south of Bornou, and on the eastern bank of the Shary. Although meeting with some reverses, and on one occasion losing his eldest son in the wars, who was greatly beloved by the people, he has, upon the whole, been successful; and is said to have, from the first to the last, destroyed and *led into slavery* more than thirty thousand of the sultan of Begharmi's subjects, besides burning his towns and driving off his flocks."

Kano, the capital of a province of the same name, and one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Soudain, has a population of from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Of these, according to Captain Clapperton, who visited it, more than half are slaves. The sale and purchase of slaves is as common as the sale or transfer of any other species of property. He describes the slave market as very extensive.

Even the wives of the kings, as already stated, are no better than slaves, in the common and harshest acceptation of the word; and as the pomp of the sovereign consists principally in the multitude of his wives, it is easy to conceive the numbers of one class alone who are reduced to servitude.

Dr. Goheen, the very intelligent and successful physician to the African mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, after more than a year's residence in Liberia, thus writes:

"Slavery in the United States, in its worst form, and under the lash, is not as bad as slavery here in its mildest form. It is a well known truth, that in Western Africa nine-tenths of the whole population are in a state of slavery. The females are all sold at an early age, to be, when they grow up, wives, or *beasts of burden*, as their proprietors may require. If the majority here were not slaves, how would they ever get into the foreign slave dealers' hands? They are sent in hundreds from the interior to the slave-factories and sold. They are not deprived of their liberty when they leave these shores—they only change masters. Slaves they are, and such they have been to the most savage rulers, who inflict upon them the severest punishments, and feel free to kill, to eat, or to throw them alive upon the funeral pile, at pleasure. Slavery in the United States, though an evil, cannot possibly be as great a one as it is here. Here is the country where slavery, with all its legitimate and concomitant horrors exists. Africa is the mother that clings to it as her only, her dearest offspring. And here is the country so deeply dyed in the

sin of slavery as to require all the Abolitionists and all the Colonizationists, and their united means and labors for centuries, in clearing its skirts and removing the foul stains that make her the prize money of other nations."

The testimony in relation to the domestic slavery of Africa might be greatly amplified, and the truth of the proposition, that it would continue, though slavery in all the world beside were abolished, be more fully proved, but what has already been presented is deemed quite sufficient for our purpose.

The evils arising from the *tyranny, cruelties, and wars* of Africa, have been incidentally presented, in the course of our investigations, and we shall not dwell upon them at length, though volumes might be filled with details of the most shocking character.

The Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1839, says, "Only a few years since, the king of Ashantee sent the governor of Cape Coast sixty jaw bones of human victims which he had killed, as an evidence of his despotic power, thinking at the same time it would prove to be a present of great value. The king of Ashantee thinks as little of taking off the heads of his subjects as those of his chickens."

The Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury, an English missionary in South Africa, 1829, thus describes a native chief, recently deceased. "His cruelties almost exceeded belief; he rioted in blood; and never had higher enjoyment than when killing his own subjects. When his mother died, immense numbers of his people were summoned together to weep, and the mourning was appointed to continue three days and nights. Every artifice was made use of to provoke sorrow, and cause the tears to flow; but it was impossible for the multitude to continue weeping constantly; and yet, when any one did not shed what the tyrant considered a sufficient quantity of tears, he was instantly despatched for want of affection to his mother's memory. In the course of those three days three hundred persons are said to have been put to death. And whenever a man was killed, his wife or wives, and all his children were destroyed on the same day."

The Rev. Mr. Champion, missionary in King Dingaan's country, South Africa, says, 1836, "The king holds his eminence by many customs that are in vogue. He eats the first green corn, and at the celebration calls all the nation together to dance before him. Sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, and such like, are cultivated and reserved for the king. No one can sit in a chair but the king. One of his captains was here not long since, who was afraid even to sit on a box, lest he should resemble the king. Blankets, except the very meanest description, are royal ones. For the common people to obtain and wear them would be instant death. Anything at all fine goes to the king, and for others to wear or use them is to aspire to be like the king. The ivory comes all to the king, and for this purpose he sends out many men to hunt elephants. With the teeth he obtains of the whites presents of beads, cloths, &c., which he bestows on his immense family and his favorite captains. When they return from war, all the cattle are driven to the chief town as the king's property.

Some he bestows on the brave and on his generals, but the many are reserved to increase his immense herds and for slaughter.

“He has another stern grasp on his people, in that punishment which is inflicted for small as well as great offenses. A word that bears in any way against the king, or is suspected even, and the die is cast, the man is counted for dead. A captain is killed, and often his family and dependents follow him. The king wishes perhaps to show his power, and to see spoils coming in from slaughter, and he sends, as lately, and in one night, after by stratagem he had collected all at home, cuts off a rich country of his own tribe or his own subjects.

“Cases of individuals put to death are almost always occurring. The people are shy to talk about the subject, after they have told you it was by order of the king. It is almost always because they are alleged to have done something wrong, but where or when, no one knows; only when reasoned into a corner, they say the king knows. Always it is, yes, father, it is all right—when even son, mother, father, or brother is slain.”

Infanticide of a peculiar nature prevails in Africa: twins are never allowed to live. As soon as they are born, they are put into two earthen pots and exposed to beasts of the forest; and the unfortunate mother ever afterward endures great trouble and hardships.

The exposure of the aged and infirm, says Mr. Moffat, after they are incapable of supporting themselves, is common. They are left in desert places, with an allowance of food and water to subsist them for a time, after which, if not sooner devoured by beasts of prey, they are suffered to perish of hunger.

“Another sanguinary custom grows out of the superstitious veneration of the Africans for the shark. The person upon whom suspicion of crime has fallen, is ordered by the king to swim across the river, when, if innocent, he is expected to arrive safe upon the other side; but if otherwise, the sharks are to have him for breakfast. The trial takes place, says Dr. Porter, before his majesty and an immense concourse of people; the suspected person is brought forth and forced into the river, when the poor victim makes every exertion to reach the destined goal, but, strange to say, the king has never yet left the beach without being fully convinced of the truth of his suspicions, as no instance is on record of the sharks ever allowing him to be in the wrong.”

The testimony already adduced, proves that many of the sanguinary wars of Africa have their origin in other causes than the stimulus furnished by the slave trade. Were additional testimony needed in proof of this point, much is afforded in Moffat's *Southern Africa*. The writer, long a resident missionary, and an active agent in many of the scenes described, has given the world a work of great interest and value. The army of forty thousand Mantatees, who approached and attacked the tribes in which Mr. Moffat was laboring, were themselves refugees, robbed of their cattle and driven from their homes, by superior force, and compelled, in turn, to rob others, that they themselves might live. Having heard that there were immense

flocks of sheep at the English colony at the Cape, which they wished to possess, they were fighting their way in that direction, when compelled to change their course by the valor of the better armed forces which they encountered. They do not seem to have had any connection whatever with the slave trade.

The Rev. Dr. Philip says, that king Moselekatse, who had descended on the thickly-peopled regions of the north, like a sweeping pestilence, capturing thousands of slaves, and leaving in his course nothing but dilapidated walls and heaps of rubbish, mingled with human bones and skulls, had never traded in slaves. The cruelties of the Matebele nation, of which Moselekatse was king, is thus depicted by Mr. Moffat, and will furnish an appropriate conclusion to these investigations. "Nothing less than the entire subjugation, or destruction of the vanquished, could quench their insatiable thirst for power. Thus, when they conquered a town, the terrified inhabitants were driven in a mass to the outskirts, when the parents and all the married women were slaughtered on the spot. Such as had dared to be brave in the defense of their town, their wives and their children, were reserved for a still more terrible death; dry grass, saturated with fat, was tied around their naked bodies and then set on fire. The youths and girls were loaded as beasts of burden, with the spoils of the town, to be marched to the homes of their victors. If the town was in an isolated position, the helpless infants were left to perish either with hunger, or to be destroyed by beasts of prey. On such an event the lions scent the slain and leave their lair; the hyenas and jackalls emerge from their lurking places in broad day, and revel in the carnage; while a cloud of vultures may be seen, descending on the living and the dead, and holding a carnival on human flesh. Should a suspicion arise in the savage bosom that these helpless innocents may fall into the hands of friends, they will prevent this by collecting them into a fold, and after raising over them a pile of brushwood, apply the flaming torch to it, when the town, but lately the scene of mirth, becomes a heap of ashes."

In relation to the *cannibalism* of Africa, a subject so revolting, we will not be expected to give many details. Of the existence of this practice there can be no doubt. The annual report of the American Colonization Society, 1828, contains the following statement:

"The most fierce and atrocious conflicts, instigated by slave traders, have prevailed during the last two years, among the tribes in the vicinity of Monrovia. The crime of cannibalism, shocking, it may be supposed, even to barbarous natures, has been perpetrated during these wars. On the capture of a small town among the Goraes by the Deys, thirty victims were sacrificed to this detestable practice."

Many are the witnesses who have borne testimony to the general prevalence of cannibalism over large districts of Africa. Very recent reports of scientific exploring companies sent out from France, also give sufficient evidence to prove the truth of the previous reports, leaving us under the painful necessity of believing that all that has been said of cannibalism in Africa is true.—*See Appendix.*

As stated in the outset, the object of the investigations of the subjects coming under our first head, has been to show the true state of Africa's social and moral condition, independent of the slave trade; and to prove that even if it were possible to break up that traffic by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity and little good accomplished for Africa. And have we not succeeded? Have not facts enough been given, to prove that Africa's degradation is complete—that if the slave trade were this hour annihilated, and all the evils which we have enumerated as not dependent upon the slave trade still existing, the social and moral condition of that continent would demand the utmost efforts of Christians everywhere for its recovery from the horrors of barbarism.

It might, by some, have been supposed that the catalogue of woes oppressing Africa, *and belonging legitimately to herself*, were enough to atone for her iniquities. But no: such heaven-daring violations of divine law, such impious disregard of the principles of justice and humanity, could not escape the indignation of the Almighty. The sufferings of wicked men, the consequence of their own transgressions, *can never make atonement for their sins*. There is no principle of God's moral government of nations, that will permit the stay of execution of judgment for transgression, *but upon repentance*. Africa had not repented, but was adding iniquity unto iniquity. Justice, therefore, cried for vengeance, and the slave traders, resembling more the demons of the lowest pit than men, were let loose upon this doomed people, to involve the oppressor and the oppressed in one common ruin.

We shall see, however, before we close, *that mercy was mingled with judgment*. And we shall find that in the history of the African slave trade, and the events connected with it, we have another illustration of the truth of the proposition, that when God has designs of mercy toward a wicked people, the judgments with which he visits them for their sins, are adapted to secure their repentance and lead them back to Himself.

II. The Modifications which have been produced on the Social and Moral Condition of Africa by the Slave Trade.

Until introduced by the Moors, it appears that the trading in slaves was little known to the inhabitants of the interior of Africa. The prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the captors, and formed the marriage portions given to their children. It seems that, in general, they were humanely treated, excepting when the cruelties of their superstitions led to opposite results. It is, says Denham and Clapperton, to the pernicious principles of the Moorish traders, whose avaricious brutality is beyond all belief, that the traffic for slaves in the interior of Africa not only owes its origin, but its continuance. The eagerness of the interior population to possess the alluring articles of merchandize offered, tempted them to sell their slaves, while the enormous profits on their sale, in the cities along the Mediterranean,

caused the Moorish traders to refuse to receive anything in exchange for their goods but slaves.

On the western coast of Africa, as briefly detailed in our former lecture, the slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese. For a long series of years the supply was obtained by forcibly seizing the natives, and confining them on board their vessels, until a sufficient number for a cargo were obtained. This practice, though inconsiderable at its commencement, became general, says Rees' *Cyclopædia*, and was prosecuted by Portuguese, Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, &c. The wretched inhabitants were thus driven from the coast and compelled to take refuge in the interior. But the Europeans still pursued them, entering their rivers, and thus penetrating the heart of the country. The increased demand for slaves, however, soon became so great as to require a less precarious mode of securing a supply. Accordingly, forts and factories were established, merchandize landed, and endeavors made, by a peaceable deportment, by presents, and by every appearance of munificence, to allure the attachment and confidence of the Africans.

These traffickers were not long in discovering the chiefs or kings of the African tribes, and making treaties of peace and commerce, by which it was agreed that prisoners of war and convicts for crimes should be sentenced to European servitude; and that the Europeans should, in return, supply the kings with the luxuries of the north. These treaties were immediately carried into effect, and the terrible consequences which might have been anticipated were soon developed. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that the results were foreseen by the traders, and this scheme of extending their operations, seemingly under the sanctions of justice, was thrown before the world, in this plausible form, to prevent the indignant frown of public sentiment from prohibiting the further prosecution of the traffic in slaves.

The number of persons convicted of crimes, fell so far short of the wants of the slave traders, that other means had to be adopted to augment their numbers. Not only those fairly convicted of crime were now sentenced to slavery, but even those who were suspected; and with regard to prisoners of war, they delivered into slavery, not only those who were taken in a state of public enmity and injustice, but those also who were taken in the arbitrary skirmishes of the venal sovereigns of Africa. Wars were made among the tribes near the coast, not as formerly, from motives of retaliation and defense, or from love of conquest, but for the sake of obtaining prisoners alone, and the advantages resulting from the sale of them. When a European ship came in sight, this was considered as a motive for war, and a signal for the commencement of hostilities. The despotic sovereigns of Africa, influenced by the venal motives of European traffic, first made war upon the neighboring tribes in the violation of every principle of justice; and if they did not thus succeed in their main object, they turned their arms against their own subjects. The first villages at which they arrived were immediately surrounded, and afterward set on fire; and the wretched inhabitants seized, as they were escaping from the flames.

In a few years the traffic in slaves became systematized, and the residents remaining along the coast became the regular agents between the slave merchants and the tribes in the interior, who were better able to procure slaves to send to the ports where they were in demand. The slave trade was thus gradually extended from the Atlantic and Pacific coasts into the interior, by Europeans, as it had been from the Mediterranean by the Moors, and it has been no uncommon occurrence for the slaves sold to the traders on the Atlantic coast, to have been brought from the interior a distance of 700 miles.

The influence of this horrible traffic upon Africa was most pernicious. Deplorable as was the social condition of her people, independent of the slave trade, it would seem, at first view, to have been rendered infinitely worse by it.

On this occasion, however, time will not allow us to present the wide range of facts which we have been able to collect upon this branch of our subject. At present we can only remark, that from the testimony of many witnesses—embracing travelers in Africa, and missionaries, and colonists—it appears that the slave trade, besides vastly aggravating some of the social evils previously existing, and greatly multiplying the causes of war among the different tribes, has exerted a paralyzing effect upon the little agricultural industry which previously existed; and that there is less of social happiness and less of personal enjoyment in the districts where the traffic prevails, than in the interior where its influence has not so fully reached; and further, that the king of Dahomey is at present largely engaged in supplying the slave traders with slaves, amounting to the number of 30,000 annually, to obtain which he makes annual slave hunts, the dangers of which he himself shares.

One case only we shall present, and of recent occurrence, to afford an idea of the cruelties practised at the depots for slaves on the coast, where they are collected for transportation; and to present a well-attested account of the horrible atrocities to which the slave trade leads those who are enlisted in it.

In July, 1842, Rev. J. L. Wilson visited a slave factory on the Gaboon, to inspect its condition. On his arrival at the gate of the barracoon, which was an enclosure of more than an acre, the slaves were talking and laughing cheerfully, but the moment the gate opened, the most profound silence ensued, and they became terrified, supposing that a victim was to be selected to be eaten. Among the slaves were persons of both sexes, from five to forty years of age, not one of the number having any covering. Most of the men were fastened two and two, one ankle of each being fettered. The women, girls, and half-grown boys were made secure by a brass ring encircling the neck, through which a chain passed, grouping them together in companies of forty or fifty each. Boys and girls under ten years of age were left unshackled. The poor wretches had to sleep on bamboo platforms arranged round the building, without any covering to protect them from the cold and the mosquitoes, both of which were intolerable to persons in their situation at that season of the year.

"But there was one company which particularly arrested my

attention—affected my heart. It was made up of mothers who had recently been bereft of their children. How they came to be chained together, I cannot tell, unless their keepers, yielding to what they considered an innocent and harmless desire, allowed them to be drawn together by their sympathies and sorrows.

“Their owner knew, perhaps, what had become of their children, but he was unaffected by the reminiscence. Not so with them. Their countenances indicated an intensity of anguish that cannot be described. Though heathen mothers, a flame had been kindled in their hearts which no calamity could extinguish.

“When infants are born in the barracoon, or when they are brought there with their mothers—because it is inconvenient to keep them in the factory, and almost impossible to carry them across the ocean—they are subjected to a premature and violent death. I speak advisedly, when I affirm, that this is a common occurrence in the operations of the slave trade; and it was in this way, I was credibly informed, that these sorrowing females had been sundered from their offspring. * * * I left the barracoon with my curiosity amply satisfied, and with emotions which will never allow me to visit another.”

The horrors of the *middle passage*, as the transportation of the slaves from the ports in Africa, to the countries where they are sold, is called, are so well known to every reading man, that I shall only present one instance of the revelations made by the capture of a slaver, with the view of affording an idea of the capacity of our Liberia colony to receive and provide for emigrants who may land upon its territory.

The Pons, a slave ship on the coast of Africa, was captured by an American vessel, in December, 1845, and her cargo of slaves landed at Monrovia, and provided for by the Liberians. She had eight hundred and sixty-six slaves on board, eighteen of whom died during the night after the capture. The vessel had no slave decks, and these poor wretches were almost literally piled in bulk on the water casks below. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. Forty-five or fifty of the number were females, who were confined in the round-house cabin on deck. Notwithstanding this crowded state of the vessel, it had been the intention of the captain to take on board an additional four hundred slaves. The stench from below was so great, says Capt. Bell, that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. The men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes, when all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor slaves when the hatches were closed? “I am informed,” says Capt. Bell, “that very often, in these cases, the stronger will strangle the weaker; and that this was probably the reason so many died, or rather were found dead, on the morning after the capture. None but an eye witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures endure in their transit across the ocean.”

The vessel was fourteen days in reaching Monrovia, during which

time one hundred and fifty died. "When they were landed," says the *Liberia Herald*, "nearly the whole population collected on the beach to witness the sight. The colonists, with the exception of a very few, had never witnessed such a spectacle before. The slaves were much emaciated, and so debilitated that many of them found difficulty in getting out of the boats. Such a spectacle of misery and wretchedness, inflicted by a lawless and ferocious cupidity, so excited our people that it became unsafe for the captain of the slaver, who had come to look on, to remain at the beach. Eight slaves died in the harbor the day before they were landed. The prize master says, as soon as a slave became helpless through debility or sickness, those nearest would throttle him, in order that his body removed, they would have more room. They were all, men and women, with the exception of two or three called headmen, landed in a state of perfect nudity!"

Dr. Lugenbeel, the United States' agent, immediately put them all out among the people of Liberia as apprentices. The Methodist mission took charge of eighty boys and twenty girls. The education of many of them has been progressing well, and a number of them are at present, 1849, members of the church, and rejoicing in the faith of the gospel. Oh what a kind Providence to turn the captivity of these poor creatures into a blessing of inestimable value!

Since the employment of a naval force on the coast for the capture of slavers, many expedients are adopted by the heartless villains engaged in the slave trade to escape detection. One instance only need be noticed to give a true idea of the recklessness of life which prevails. In 1830, Captain Homans, having taken on board six hundred slaves, on the coast of Africa, set sail for Cuba, found himself about being surrounded by four cruizers who had watched his movements. Favored by the darkness of the night, which soon set in, he extended a heavy chain cable around his vessel outside the railing, with a ponderous anchor attached, and bringing his slaves one by one on deck, by means of their handcuffs of iron he fastened them to the cable. The penwork of the hold and every thing that could create suspicion, was also brought on deck, bound in matting well filled with shot, and thrown overboard. The cable, by a single blow of the axe, was then cut loose, a heavy plunge was heard as the anchor reached the water, and a crash as the cable fell off the side, above which arose one terrible shriek—it was the last cry of the murdered Africans. One moment more, and all was still. Six hundred human beings had gone down with that anchor and chain into the depths of the ocean. Two hours after daylight the captain was overhauled. There was no evidence that his vessel was a slaver, and her captors were obliged to let her pass.

We have said that the slave trade did not originate the degradation into which Africa has been sunk, but that, though it aggravated many existing evils, and introduced some new elements of woe, by arousing the cupidity of the inhabitants, *yet it was itself only a legitimate fruit of the social and moral degradation previously existing on that continent.* Listen to the reasons upon which we base our opinion.

Africa, sunk in the gloom of the darkest superstitions known to the world, and neglecting all that industry which creates a surplus of products to constitute the elements of a legitimate commerce, and which secures to nations those comforts and luxuries not produced in their own latitudes; when an intercourse with civilized countries was opened up, had not an adequate supply of agricultural fruits, or mineral wealth, to exchange for the European commodities of which she found herself in want. This neglect of necessary labor on her own soil, which was so well adapted to yield abundantly the tropical products then beginning to be in demand in civilized countries, left her but one resource to secure the articles she desired—*and that resource was the selling of human flesh!* Alas, for poor Africa! Human flesh was the only commodity which she could supply, in sufficient quantity, to the commerce of the world. No proposition is more susceptible of demonstration than this, *that the slave trade is a legitimate fruit of Africa's degradation.* Had she not rejected the gospel which once blessed her, and, as a necessary consequence, lost her industry and sunk into barbarism, she would not have been under the necessity of selling her children, nor would it have been possible to have persuaded her to adopt a measure so unnatural, so cruel, so inhuman, so infernal, and fraught with such a deluge of woe. And there is but one way of suppressing the evils under which Africa groans, and that is, to restore to her that blessed gospel which she rejected, and that industry which she lost; and then, the causes creating the slave trade being removed, that traffic itself must necessarily be annihilated, and Africa permanently redeemed.

Had time allowed the presentation of all the testimony collected in reference to the modifications produced upon the social and moral condition of Africa by the slave trade, the picture, though dark indeed, would have been faint when compared with the sad reality, and limited when contrasted with the vast extent of that traffic and the agonizing sufferings which are its attendants. The slave trade, it will be perceived, had no tendency to check or suppress the domestic slavery of Africa, but made its perpetuation of greater importance as furnishing a principal means of keeping up the traffic with the slave trader. It has done nothing to break down the idolatry, the devil-worship, the witchcraft, the tyranny, and cruelties of Africa, which have deeply degraded her, but has left these all unchanged. The tropical cultivation employing slave labor, makes a demand upon Africa chiefly for males, and thus the slave trade, leaving an excess of females in that country, has, no doubt, increased polygamy, and the miseries growing out of that social evil. The slave trade did not originate the sanguinary wars of the powerful kings of the interior, who, actuated by ambition of conquest, or love of plunder, laid waste the weaker nations that surrounded them, strewing the earth with their corpses, that they might decorate their rude halls with skulls; but it has greatly multiplied the petty feuds of smaller tribes and led the larger ones to make regular slave hunts, to supply the increasing demand for slave labor. And though the

slave trade, by awakening the passion of avarice into a predominance over that of superstition, may have limited the number of human sacrifices, it was but to prolong a life that it might be subjected to all the vicissitudes of foreign slavery.

And thus, while the social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade, was truly deplorable, and sufficient to rouse to action every man whose heart can sympathize with human suffering, the slave trade rendered its condition still more dismal, making the call upon the Christian world for relief still more urgent.

III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from Barbarism.

No great movements of mankind, either voluntary or compulsory, uprooting the population of one country and transplanting it into another, have ever occurred without producing important results, for good or for ill, to the people transferred and to the world. The removal to North America of portions of the populations of Europe and Africa—the first voluntary, and the second compulsory—the one the most enlightened and upright of the human family, and the other the most ignorant and debased—the extremes of humanity—and their coalescence, upon our soil, in the relation of master and slave, was one of those strange and incomprehensible events, the design of which cannot be fathomed by any depth of human wisdom and foresight, but can only be understood when time has wrought out its ultimate results.

Our first settlers from Europe were the advocates of a Free Christianity, who had been exiled by an intolerant zeal for religious uniformity, and forced to flee from persecution to a land where they could obtain equal rights and liberty of conscience. No sooner had they become fairly seated in their wilderness homes, than they began to afford examples of the practical tendencies of their religious faith, by attempting the education and conversion of the native Indians! The substance of their religious belief, so far as it had a controlling influence in modeling their course of policy, may be thus stated.

They believed that man was originally created a pure and holy being, and in the possession of an extent of happiness that was only limited by his capacity for enjoyment; but that by an act of disobedience he lost his original purity of character, and involved himself and all his posterity in moral ruin, and thus the whole race fell under the condemnation of the law of God. They believed, that all the ignorance, suffering, injustice, and oppression existing in the world are a necessary consequence of the depravity of men's hearts; and that these evils must continue until mankind are brought back to their allegiance to God, and the rebel receives pardon and is released from the curse of the divine law. They believed, that notwithstanding man's transgression, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life;" and that the Lord Jesus Christ, as the substitute for sinners, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, having

satisfied the demands of divine justice and made an atonement for sin, thus secured pardon, justification, and eternal life, for all who should believe in his name: but that those who believed not, must forever continue under condemnation and wrath. They believed that human misery would disappear from earth, in the proportion that men could be persuaded to embrace the religion of Christ, and to conform their conduct to the teachings of his gospel; and that as soon as the whole world could be brought under the influence of that gospel, Humanity would dry up her tears and peace and joy become universal. They believed that the command of the Saviour to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is as fully binding upon believers in after ages, as it was upon those to whom it was at first delivered, and that the consequences which he declared should attend that preaching—"He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned"—will continue to accompany it to the latest generations of men; and that, therefore, the responsibility of spreading the gospel as fully rests upon all believers, in all time, so far as their circumstances, pecuniary abilities, opportunities, talents, and spiritual gifts will allow, as it did upon Paul, when, in view of the sinfulness of men and their liability to wrath, he exclaimed, "for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel."

Entertaining such views of their responsibilities to God and to man, the desire to promote the temporal and eternal interests of their posterity, and of the world, became a ruling principle of action with the first emigrants to New England. They commenced their labors on such a scale as their circumstances permitted, and in a few years mastered the language of the Indians, established schools for their education, and translated and printed the Bible in the native tongue, thus enabling the savage of the forest to read the words of eternal life. Such was the spirit of the Pilgrims, and such the origin, in this country, of that Christian philanthropy which includes within its embrace the whole human family, and is now exerting its energies to give the gospel to the whole heathen world.

The first of our supply of the population of Africa, dragged from their homes by the promptings of avarice, to gratify an unhallowed commercial cupidity, were landed in the colony of Virginia in 1620, the same year in which the Puritan Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. This is a remarkable coincidence. The first advocates of a Free Christianity, and the first African slaves who touched our coast were landed in the same year.

In thus bringing together darkness and light—in mingling the lowest form of Pagan ignorance and depravity with the highest development of Christian intelligence and integrity—it would seem that Divine Providence designed to demonstrate to the world the capability of a Free Christianity *to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined, and thus to prove the unity and natural equality of the human race.*

Our investigations under this head have been directed, though but

incidentally, to the facts connected with the solution of this great problem—the *sufficiency of a pure Christianity to restore to man his lost happiness*—with the view, principally, of pointing out the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

The best authorities make the number of slaves exported from Africa, up to 1847, about seven millions eight hundred and forty-five thousand. Great as this number appears, the estimate is no doubt within the actual number of the victims of the slave trade. And then, to have a proper conception of the extent of the sufferings following in the train of this traffic, it must be remembered, that the number of lives lost in Africa during the wars for the capture of slaves and their transportation to the coast, equals the number exported, making her entire loss fifteen millions six hundred and ninety thousand human beings. This statement will give a just conception of the extent to which Africa has been robbed of her children. To obtain the facts which we need in our discussion, our plan has been to follow the more prominent lines along which the slave trade has borne the population of Africa, and ascertain what results have followed, in the several countries to which the African people have been taken, with the view of determining the intellectual and moral progress they may have made, and the present qualifications of each group to act as pioneers in the work of Africa's redemption.

Passing by, for the present, those transported to the British West Indies, to Brazil, to Cuba and to Mexico, we find that those imported into the colonies now composing the United States, were very differently situated from each other and from their brethren left behind in the pagan darkness of Africa. A part of them fell into the hands of men, not so scrupulous, perhaps, as others of the colonists, on the subject of equal rights, but who, to say the least, were so far under the influence of Christian principle, that they deemed it an imperative duty to teach their households to read the Bible, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. The term *household*, according to their interpretation, included slaves. At that day apprentices were not *masters* in the shops where they learned trades, nor students *sovereigns* in colleges to which they were sent to be educated. The judgment of age was respected, because the experience of years was supposed to impart wisdom. Implicit obedience to those in authority, whether parents, teachers, masters or magistrates, was demanded and yielded; and the consequence was, that while education enlightened the mind, and religious instruction moulded the heart, a generation of men were ushered upon the stage of action, with a love of order and submission to law, as unalterable as was their hostility to despotism, and their determination to secure to themselves the rights of conscience, and the blessings of civil liberty—of liberty under the restraints of law. But while they rigidly held the doctrine of *the natural equality of the human race*, they as unchangeably believed *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*

The school house and the church, the sources of intelligence and morality, with them were objects of the first importance, because the perpetuity of the free institutions they were founding would depend, they believed, not upon any magic in the mere possession of freedom, but in the intelligence and moral principle of their posterity. While, therefore, they labored for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Indian and the African, they refused to admit them to the privileges of citizenship. No morbid sentimentality upon the subject of equal rights could induce them to forget the peril into which they would cast the precious jewel of the elective franchise, by conferring it upon savage or half-civilized men, necessarily destitute of the ability through ignorance, of making a discreet use of the privilege. While, then, they believed the savage man to be equal, *by nature*, with the civilized man, and that, by education, he could be made his equal, also, *intellectually and morally*, until thus educated and capable of being controlled by moral principle, they would have conceived it to be madness to make the savage man the equal partner in commercial business with the civilized man, and much less would they have considered it a measure of safety to make him the equal in the administration of government.

It was into the midst of such men as these, though contrary to the principles and wishes of the majority, and in opposition to their remonstrances and legislative enactments, that England forced the population of Africa. And, as if by an instinctive forecast, despotism seems to have anticipated the effects, on this continent, of a Free Christianity, generating independence of thought, and demanding for men equal rights and liberty of conscience, and sought, by casting in a mass of ignorance from Africa, to retard if not to prevent the full development of these great principles. This disposition was clearly indicated by the English statesman, who declared, as a sufficient reason for turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Colonists against the further importation of slaves, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans—they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly Colonists."

That such motives prompted England to prosecute the introduction of slaves into the colonies with great activity, was fully believed by the American statesmen of the Revolution, and their views were thus energetically expressed, by Mr. Jefferson, in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, but which was afterward omitted:

"He (the king of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms

among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, by crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

But that desire to impart the blessings of the gospel to their fellow-men, which had prompted that yet feeble colony to attempt the conversion of the Indians, could not but lead also to efforts for the elevation of the poor African slave. In accordance with this view, we find that the slaves were subjected, more or less, to the rules of their masters' families, affording, to many of them, opportunities of intellectual and moral improvement, which soon began to elevate them in the scale of being from that of the lowest state of barbarism, which they had occupied in Africa, to one of approximate civilization. Pious ministers, also, being generally allowed free access to the slaves, obeyed the injunction to preach the gospel to every creature, and labored for their improvement and conversion. Thus nearly the whole mass of the victims of the slave trade, who were brought to the territory now forming the United States, were ultimately placed under circumstances which afforded to them advantages of infinite value, and from which, to this day, they might have been excluded, had they not been brought from Africa.

Many generations of men have been ushered into existence and disappeared again from the earth, while these causes have been in operation. Of the number of thousands of colored men who have lived, during this period, embraced the gospel, and died in the hope of a blessed immortality, we can form no estimate. But the number of professors of religion of African descent, now living in the United States, may be estimated at nearly three hundred and fifty thousand.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, many years since, commenced a systematic course of missionary labors among the colored people, but designed principally for the slaves. The Reports of this Church, for 1849, show that a large number of missionaries are employed in this field, and give twenty-eight thousand five hundred and eighty-nine colored persons as members at the North, and one hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-eight at the South. We find it stated in a southern paper, that the number of colored members, in the slave States, belonging to the Baptist Church, is over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Associate Reformed Presbyterians, in the South, have also long been engaged in the religious training of the slaves, and have received many of them into church membership. At the present moment, the Sabbath schools of these several religious bodies are very extensive and very efficient. The Cumberland Presbyterians, we understand, are not inattentive to the religious wants of the slave, but we are without statistics on the subject of their operations. The number of colored members in the Baptist Church at the North is not known to us, but must amount to several hundreds. Our estimate of three hundred and fifty thousand, as the whole of the colored members of churches in the United States, is, therefore, probably not above the true number.

But besides these pleasing results of the agencies accompanying slavery in this country, it must be added, that we have at present about four hundred and sixty thousand free persons of color, from whom the shackles of slavery have fallen, and many of whom possess an amount of intelligence which indicates, very plainly, that equal advantages only are needed to enable them to attain a high standard in all that adorns the character of the civilized and Christian man. And, in addition to all this, it must be noticed, that the whole colored population of the United States, which will number, in 1850, about three millions six hundred and ninety-seven thousand—though the standard of morality, with the larger part, is known to be very low—may be said to be freed from the degrading influences of African superstition and idolatry, and thus made more accessible to the Christian teacher. This result was greatly hastened by another most singular coincidence. Scarcely had the work of the religious training of slaves been fairly undertaken, and its practicability determined, when the further influx of heathenism was prevented by the prohibition of the slave trade, and the task of overcoming their pagan superstitions and idolatrous customs was thus more easily accomplished.

But this does not yet complete the catalogue of good results accompanying the transportation of the population of Africa to this country. In addition to the blessings of Christianity secured to them, in connexion with slavery, their captivity among us seems to have been but a preparatory step toward the development of another of the results to be produced in permitting the cupidity of the Christian world to make merchandise of the sons of Africa; and that result is their being constituted a distinct people, a civilized, enlightened and powerful nation. The indications of this are unmistakeable. In the progress of intelligence among the Africans of the United States, that passion for equal rights and privileges which characterized those who laid the foundations of American Independence, was also infused into their breasts, animating them likewise with the love of liberty and the determination to secure to themselves and their children the blessings of free government. But being conscious of the secondary position which they must necessarily occupy in the social relations of this country; and in view also of the important fact, that the respect and esteem of the world could not be secured to the colored race short of the demonstration of their capacity for self-government; and knowing the impossibility of *testing that point* where such a preponderance of whites existed; and where, by the more rapid increase of the whites, by foreign immigration, the colored people must necessarily for ever constitute a very small minority, and their influence scarcely be felt, excepting as their votes would be in demand during party contests: in view of these and other considerations, after the most mature deliberation, a few colored men were led, thirty years ago, to accept the proposition of making a noble and daring effort for nationality in Africa itself, where eighty millions of their brethren might be civilized and incorporated with them, thus creating a government whose numerical strength would be four-fold that of the one they would leave.

The encouraging success which has crowned this enterprize of the colored people, is well known, and proves as fully that it is of God, as that our own happy Republic was planted by the right hand of the Almighty, as a model to the world of the power of a free Christianity to promote human happiness. The Republic of Liberia, now numbering within its limits one hundred thousand souls, is but a transplantment to Africa of American civilization, American views of the rights of man, and American principles in relation to the freedom of religion. These principles are already beginning to produce their ameliorating effects in Africa, and their power to elevate and ennoble mankind are becoming more and more manifest every day. It is a fact, now acknowledged in Europe and America, that the moral influence already exerted by Liberia, has done more for the cause of humanity, in the suppression of the slave trade, and in the abolition of slavery and the other evils afflicting Africa, than has been accomplished by the combined efforts of the civilized world.

We have now traced the prominent results following the enslavement of the Africans in the United States, until we have seen the tide of emigration begin to flow back from our shores to Africa, bearing her children to her again, not as received from her, with minds darkened by heathenish superstitions, but, many of them, enlightened and christianized men, able to bless her and redeem her. The plan of our investigations leads us to follow the other lines of dispersion of the population of Africa; to ascertain the results in other countries, with the view of determining the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

We shall turn first to the British West Indies, and as Jamaica is the most prominent of these islands, and will best serve as a type of the whole, our inquiries will be chiefly confined to it. We have obtained our facts, principally, from the recently written history of Jamaica, by the Rev. J. M. Phillippo, for twenty years a Baptist missionary in that island.

The Island of Jamaica, discovered in 1494, was settled by a colony of Spaniards in 1509, who, by their oppressions and savage cruelties, in less than fifty years, wholly exterminated the native population, originally numbering from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand. African slaves seem to have been introduced at an early day as substitutes for the natives, and up to 1655, when the English, then at war with Spain, took possession of the island, forty thousand slaves had been imported by the Spaniards, only fifteen hundred of whom were then surviving. Jamaica, by this change of masters, was not much improved in its social and moral condition, which, under the one hundred and forty-six years of Spanish rule, had been deplorable. It now became the rendezvous of buccaneers and piratical crusaders, a desperate band of men from all the maritime powers of Europe, who continued to perpetrate almost every degree of wickedness, both on sea and land, until 1670, when peace was made with Spain, and a more vigorous administration of law attempted. Twenty-six years after England conquered the island, 1696, up to which period the importation of slaves was still continued, the whites numbered fifteen

thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, and the slaves nine thousand five hundred. At the end of an additional forty-six years, 1742, during nearly the whole of which time the monopoly of the slave trade was held by England, the whites numbered fourteen thousand, and the slaves one hundred thousand. The annual importation of slaves into Jamaica now reached sixteen thousand, so that, at the end of another twenty-eight years, they numbered two hundred thousand, while the whites had scarcely increased two thousand. These numbers show, that from 1742 till 1770, a period of twenty-eight years, the number of slaves who sunk under the lash of the Jamaica task-master, must have been two hundred and forty-eight thousand, or almost nine thousand annually. The whole number of slaves imported by the English, up to 1808, when the slave trade was forbidden by Parliament, was eight hundred and fifty thousand, to which must be added the forty thousand imported by the Spaniards, making the total number of the population of Africa, transported to Jamaica, amount to eight hundred and ninety thousand men. And yet, the startling truth must be told, that when the census of the slave population of this island was ordered by government, in 1835, under the emancipation act, instead of an increase on the numbers imported, they amounted to only three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and ninety-two.

It will be an easy task for any person of ordinary intelligence, to picture to himself the state of morals and the social condition of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, during the several periods of its history to which we have referred; and what must have been the reflex influence of such a population upon the poor ignorant savages from Africa. To say that the moral character of the whites of Jamaica was the extreme reverse of that of the early settlers of the United States, would, perhaps, be strictly true. On this point, however, we shall not dwell. Our object is to see what were the results to the Africans introduced into that island, that their progress, intellectually and morally, may be contrasted with that of the colored population of the United States, that we may learn their qualifications to give to Africa a Christian civilization.

On this point we are not left to conjecture. The Rev. Mr. Philippo is very full upon the subject of their social and moral condition, and the facts stated by him in his history, before referred to, are confirmed by the missionary history of the island. He represents the slaves as having retained, in full practice, all the gross and debasing superstitions which were capable of being transferred from Africa, and that "upward of one hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British crown, scarcely an effort had been made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of Christianity; and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an act was passed by the local legislature, directing that all slave owners should instruct their negroes, and have them baptised, 'when fit for it,' it is evident, from the very terms in which the act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterward proved, a dead letter—a mere political maneuver, intended to prevent the parent state from interfering in the management of the slaves."

From this time to 1770, a period of seventy-four years, the question of slave instruction lay dead in Jamaica, when Parliament put certain questions to Mr. Wedderburn as to the actual state of the religious instruction of slaves in the Island. He replied, "There are a few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no religious instruction." The same testimony was borne at the same time by Mr. Fuller, Agent of Jamaica, and two others, who, when asked, "What religious instructions are there for the negro slaves," answered, "We know of none such in Jamaica."

The Rev. Dr. Coke, who was sent out on a missionary exploration in 1787, says, "When I first landed in Jamaica, the form of Godliness was hardly visible; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms. Both whites and blacks, to the number of between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand, were evidently living without hope and without God in the world. The language of the Apostle seems strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity: "There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are an open sepulcher; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known."

In 1796, Mr. Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, in his place in the House of Commons, when speaking of sending missionaries to a certain point in Jamaica, said, "I speak from my own knowledge when I say, that they are cannibals, and that instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly *eat* him."

But this must complete our testimony of the effects of slavery upon its subjects in Jamaica. Mr. Philipppo shows very conclusively, that the colored population of Jamaica, up to a very recent period, were elevated scarcely a jot above the natives of Africa. They had brought with them from Africa nearly all its gross and debasing superstitions, and all its social moral evils, making their new homes in Jamaica almost a *fac-simile* of those from which they had been torn in Africa.

One additional fact, however, must not be overlooked; and that is, that this fearful moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, and their total destitution of all the means of *religious instruction*, did not render them peaceful and contented, and secure the safety of their masters. This is abundantly proved in the fact, that during the period in which the Island was held by England, nearly thirty insurrections of the slaves took place. This fact, when contrasted with the comparatively few attempts at insurrection which have taken place in the United States, where religious instruction among the slaves has been common, should teach the slaveholder, that the perpetuation of the ignorance and degradation of the slaves, is no safeguard against servile insurrections, but that the teachings of Christianity, while it opens up the way of eternal life to the slave, and prepares him to take upon himself the duties of a freeman, do not necessarily endanger the safety of the master.

We have already stated the fact, that *commerce* is incapable of civilizing savage men. In the history of Jamaica, we have still more positive evidence that *slavery* is equally powerless in the promotion of civilization, and that it can only be considered as a link in the chain of events which may bring savage tribes into the midst of a civilized people, but that the civilization of savages, under such circumstances, is no more a necessary result of slavery, than it is of their imprisonment in the slave ship that transported them across the ocean, or the manacles that bound them during the voyage. Let us look at the facts. The English conquered the Island in 1665. The last testimony on the subject of the want of religious instruction for the slaves, dates in 1796. The Island, therefore, had been under British rule for a period of one hundred and forty years. If, then, slavery could elevate, and improve, and civilize its victims, surely there was time enough for it to have produced these fruits in the one hundred and forty years of British rule in Jamaica. But no such fruits had been borne. The slaves were still savage. Now, to these one hundred and forty years must be added at least twenty more of British rule, because missionary operations, introducing the Gospel, were not actively commenced until twenty years after this period. But if longer time is claimed, then add the one hundred and forty-six years during which the Island was under the Spaniards, to the one hundred and sixty under the British, and we have three hundred years of absolute slavery in Jamaica, and yet the slaves made no advancement in the scale of moral being beyond the condition in which they had been originally found in Africa. The results of African slavery in Jamaica, at the end of these three hundred years, is thus graphically described by Mr. Phillippo, "It may be emphatically said, that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people. And if one ray of light glimmered in its midst, it only served to render the surrounding darkness still more visible—more clearly to exhibit the hideous abominations beneath which the Island groaned."

This particular reference has been made to this point, because of the fact, that many have a vague, indefinite, ill-defined notion, that the great good which has resulted to the slaves of the United States, in connection with slavery, is a *fruit of slavery*. And should it still be claimed, that the moral elevation attained by the African race in the United States, is a necessary fruit of slavery, with equal propriety it can be urged, that the moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, for the three hundred years preceding the beginning of the present century, was also due to slavery. Both these propositions cannot be true. The fact is, that they are untrue in both cases. That the intellectual and moral elevation of the slaves of the United States is not due to slavery, is amply proved by the fact, *that the least advancement has been made by them where slavery exists in its greatest strength, and where the Christian teacher has been the most carefully shut out from them*. And so far as Jamaica is concerned, it is true, beyond all doubt, that its slavery did not degrade its African population into savages. It found them savages, but was wholly powerless for their moral elevation, as long as the only

influences exerted over them were from a white population destitute of a Christian morality.

But if slavery, of itself, be powerless in the moral elevation of its subjects, it does not necessarily *prevent* all moral improvement. The truth of this proposition is fully sustained by the results in both the United States and Jamaica. It is further proved by the effects following the introduction of Christianity into all the British West India Islands. The work of missions in Jamaica, as well as in the other Islands, met with the most rancorous opposition from the planters, who viewed the religious instruction of the slaves as "incompatible with the existence of slavery." The mission work, though begun in Jamaica, by the Baptists, in 1813, and by the Methodists, under Dr. Coke, in 1789, and again in 1815—made but little progress, being resolutely opposed, until about 1820. In 1824, the Moravians, who had commenced in 1754, had four stations and four missionaries; the Wesleyan Methodists eight stations and eight missionaries; and the Baptists five stations and five missionaries.

Here then, are the dates of the commencement of regular religious instruction in Jamaica. Though overawed by the mother country, the planters still manifested bitter hostility to the religious instruction of the slaves, and in 1832, on a partial insurrection of the Blacks, their wrath overflowing all bounds, they destroyed fourteen chapels, with private houses and other property, belonging to the Baptists, amounting in value to \$115,250, and six chapels, belonging to the Methodists, and property worth \$30,000. Every species of cruelty and insult were inflicted upon the missionaries. The emancipation act of the next year, 1833, for ever put it out of the power of the planters to repeat such acts of injustice and violence, and the missionary work, uninterrupted, has been eminently successful. In 1842, says the Rev. Mr. Phillippo, the whole number of converts in Jamaica was one hundred thousand, out of a population of near half a million; the number of regular places of worship were two hundred and twenty-six, and the out stations swelling them to three hundred; while the number of missionaries were over one hundred and seventy, with nearly an equal number of native assistants. Thus stood the question of the religious instruction of the African population of the Island in 1842. Superstitions and immoralities were fast disappearing under the influence of the gospel, and the marriage relation was respected. But the fewness of the missionaries and teachers, in proportion to the population, rendering it impracticable to bring all under a course of instruction, makes the progress slower than is desirable, and leaves many portions of the Island still sunk in ignorance.

Previous to the year 1823, there were not more than one or two schools for the colored people on the whole Island. In 1824, the whole number of missionaries was seventeen, in a slave population of three hundred and eleven thousand, and a free colored population of forty thousand. Here, then, were the educational agencies of Jamaica, twenty-five years ago—not over nineteen missionaries and teachers to a population of three hundred and fifty-one thousand souls, or only one to each eighteen thousand four hundred.

In this brief outline of the history of Jamaica, ample evidence is furnished to show that slavery is powerless for good to its victims. It also proves, that a free Christianity can transform, and elevate, and civilize, even slaves. But, as a barbarous people cannot make much progress in a single generation, Jamaica, at present, can supply little aid in the bestowment of a Christian civilization upon Africa. In relation to Cuba, the tale is soon told. According to McQueen, its slave population, some years ago, was four hundred and twenty-five thousand, of whom one hundred and fifty thousand were females, and two hundred and seventy-five thousand were males. This disproportion of the sexes will sufficiently indicate the social evils growing out of such a condition of things. Since that period, the slave trade has received a great stimulus, by the opening of the English markets to slave-grown sugar, and the continued importation of slaves into Cuba, gives her at present six hundred thousand. She has also one hundred thousand free colored persons, and six hundred and ten thousand whites.

A report read before the London Anti-Slavery Society, 1843, represents the plantation slaves of Cuba as never receiving the least moral or religious instruction. "Most of them are baptized, because the curate's certificate of baptism serves as a title deed in the civil courts of the Island. They live, in general, in a state of concubinage. They have not the most distant idea of Christianity. The annual decrease by deaths over births is, among the plantation slaves, from ten to twelve per cent., and among the others from four to six per cent. The births exceed the deaths among the free colored population, from five to six per cent. The hours of labor were from four, A. M. until ten, P. M., including eighteen hours of the twenty-four, with an allowance of an hour for dinner."

An extract of a letter from an eyewitness in Cuba, which was addressed to Lord John Russell, and copied into Blackwood's Magazine, February, 1848, says, "It was crop time: the mills went round night and day. On every estate, (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact,) *every slave was worked under the whip, eighteen hours of the twenty-four*, and in the boiling-houses, from five to six, P. M., and from eleven o'clock till midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work, the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed it was necessary, to keep the overtaxed wretches awake. The six hours which they rested, they spent locked in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex. While at work, the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds. There was no marrying among the plantation slaves. On many estates females were entirely excluded. It was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to raise slaves." * * * * * "Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination."

But a sense of propriety forbids that we should complete the quotation. Enough, truly, is given to show that the social and moral

condition of the slaves in Cuba is most deplorable. Nor have any ameliorating agencies been introduced to work a change. In a careful inspection of the operations of English and American missionary societies, we cannot find that any missionaries of a free Christianity have gained a foothold in Cuba. The exclusiveness of the established religion of Spain, which forbids freedom of religion, has, no doubt, been extended to her colony, and the poor African still toils beneath the lash of his merciless taskmaster, unconscious of his accountability to God, and of the offer of salvation through faith in the Saviour.

After this picture of the results accompanying the enslavement of the Africans in Cuba, no one will look to that island for aid in the civilization of Africa, until the self-denying missionaries of a free Christianity, are permitted to labor therein, for the instruction and salvation of the poor slave.

The slaves transported from Africa to Brazil have been subjected to influences as unfavorable to intellectual and moral improvement as those taken to any other country. Unfortunately for Brazil, a free Christianity was not secured to its early settlers from Europe, and the consequences have been deplorable. In accordance with the views and policy of the times, the most rigid and extreme measures were adopted to preserve unity of faith. Two ministers and fourteen students, sent out to Brazil by the Protestant Church of Geneva, were prevented, by the sanguinary fanaticism of the adherents of the established religion, from introducing a Bible Christianity. The leading men of the party of Huguenots, who fled to Brazil in 1555, from persecution in France, were thrown into prison, and after eight years' confinement, John Boles, the most prominent of the prisoners, was martyred, at Rio de Janeiro, "for the sake of terrifying his countrymen, if any of them should be lurking in those parts." The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, a few years since, attempted to enter into Brazil as a missionary field, but the effort, proving unsuccessful, has been abandoned.

Without the Bible as a moral instructor of youth, and without the presence of the advocates of a free Christianity, *as rivals to stimulate and liberalize the state religion*, it is not a matter of wonder that the Brazilians should have sunk in the scale of moral being. The rising generations, coming more or less under the influence of the native heathenism, could not attain as high a standard of intelligence and morals as those which had preceded them. It was to be expected, therefore, that the costly church edifices, erected by the pious zeal and profuse liberality of the early Portuguese emigrants, should often be perverted from the use to which they were originally consecrated; and, as is asserted in KIDDER'S BRAZIL, that the preaching of the gospel should not be known among the weekly services of the church; and, also, as is declared by SOUTHEY, that its practices should be those of polytheism and idolatry.

Details of the social and moral condition of the Brazilians is uncalled for on such an occasion as this. But, as connected with our investigations, we must be permitted to say, that such were the evil

tendencies of the religious system of Brazil, that, in 1843, the minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, addressed the Imperial Legislature as follows :

"The state of retrogression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishops and capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified :

"The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves as candidates, is surprising. In the province of Pará, there are parishes which, for twelve years and upward, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen settlements, has but one priest ; while that of the river Solimoens is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, and the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranhão, twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

"The bishop of St. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyabá, not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as stated supplies, treat the bishop's efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

"In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but during nine years past not more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.

"It may be observed, that the numerical ratio of those priests who die, or become incompetent through age and infirmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and *respect*, or they look out for chaplaincies, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements, without subjecting them to the *literary tests*, the trouble and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical benefice.

"This is not the place to investigate the causes of such a state of things, but certain it is, that no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by their poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requisite studies. Without doubt, a principal reason why so few devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits, is to be found in the small income allowed them. Moreover, the perquisites established as the remuneration of certain clerical services, have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primitive times, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parishioners into payment of them, almost always renders himself odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble."

After such a picture of the inefficiency of the established religion of Brazil, and such evidences of its decay and want of sufficient vital energy to preserve it from extinction, it will excite no surprise to find the government, in 1836, proposing to employ *Moravian missionaries* to catechise the Indians of the interior.

An American in Brazil, writing to the Boston Advocate from Rio, Sept., 1849, says: "Every one, on his first landing at Rio, will be forced to the conclusion that all classes indiscriminately mingle together; all appearing on terms of the utmost equality. If there be any distinction, it is perceptible only between freedom and slavery. There are many blacks here quite wealthy and respectable, who amalgamate with the white families, and are received on a footing of perfect equality. The mechanical arts are at least half a century behind those of our own. The churches, some fifty in number, are falling to decay, which gives to the city a look of dilapidation; few are still observant of its ceremonies; but little or no attention is paid to the Sabbath. The stores do business, and the workshops are open the same as on other days. A few may be seen going to worship on the Sabbath, but a greater number resort to billiard tables in the afternoon, and to theaters at night. The slave population is estimated at three times the number of that of the whites. *They are allowed to go almost naked, the upper part of the body of both male and female entirely so.*"

Amid this general dearth of religious interest among the Brazilians, it will of course be expected that the moral training of the poor slave has been totally neglected, and that he yet remains in all the darkness and degradation of African heathenism. Treated as a beast of burden, he can know but little more of his moral responsibility to God than the mule he drives.*

We find no evidence, thus far, that will warrant our adopting any other agency than Christianity as a *primary* means of moral improvement for the African slave, or in the civilization of any barbarous people. Nor do we find any agency elsewhere than in the United States, upon which reliance can be placed for extending a Christian civilization to Africa.

"But," says one, "you have passed by an element of human progress, more certain in its operation than any you have named. Give the slave but *liberty*, and he will vindicate his humanity, and rise to an equality with his imperious oppressor. This language once seemed oracular, but time, which tests opinions and theories, has fully shown that there is no magic power in *liberty and equality*, any more than in *trade and commerce*, to originate civilization and produce a moral revolution among a savage or semi-barbarous people.

In proof of this proposition, it is only necessary, to our present

* The population of Brazil, at present, is as follows:

Slaves.....	3,000,000
Indians and Free Negroes.....	2,500,000
Whites.....	1,500,000

A large majority of the army, as well officers as privates, are of African descent.

purpose, to refer to Hayti, where, after enjoying liberty and equality for nearly half a century, the people have with apparent willingness submitted to despotism, and bid fair, if regenerating agencies from abroad are not introduced, to relapse into barbarism. Hayti, like Brazil and Cuba, having only a *fettered Christianity*, derived from France, made no provision for the instruction of the slaves. School houses for the people, *those earliest off-shoots of a free Christianity*, had not been provided by the French proprietors for their slaves. Hence, when the shackles of slavery were removed from the slaves of Hayti, by the act of the Constituent Assembly of France, *Intelligence* not prevailing, the *Industry* of the Island, formerly *compulsory*, was soon abandoned. Before emancipation, says Blackwood's Magazine, 1848, the exports from Hayti, of sugar alone, reached six hundred and seventy-two millions of pounds, and the consumption of French manufactures, in the island, reached \$49,450,000; but at present, she neither exports a single pound of sugar, nor imports a single article of manufactures.

In this result we have a startling confirmation of the truth of the proposition stated in our former lecture, when discussing the results of West India emancipation, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry*.

Nor has the Christian world neglected to offer to Hayti a free Christianity, that she too might be blest by its transforming power. The offer was made and rejected, and this day she is reaping the bitter consequences. In 1835, the American Baptist Missionary Society made an attempt to establish a mission in Hayti, which at first promised success, but was abandoned in 1837. When Mr. Phillippo visited that Island in 1842, about a dozen members, fruits of this mission, yet remained.

As early as 1816 the English Wesleyans commenced a mission in Hayti, but in 1819 the missionary had to leave on account of persecution from the adherents of the prevailing religion. The converts, left behind, faithful to the truth, endured a series of persecutions, bitter and relentless, only stopping short of actual martyrdom. In 1830, they numbered only ninety members, under the care of a native preacher ordained in England.

The missionaries found ignorance and immorality predominant at this period, and, in one or more instances, had evidence sufficient afforded to prove that idolatry was practised in Hayti.

Between 1820 and 1829, a brisk emigration from the United States to Hayti, was conducted, transferring, according to Benjamin Lundy, eight thousand free colored persons to that Island, the expenses of six thousand of whom being paid by the Haytien government. But this infusion of Republican leaven, though equaling in number the whole of the emigrants sent to Liberia, seems not to have wrought any wonders in the civilization of their brother Republicans. All have quietly sunk down together into despotism.

The present social and moral condition of Hayti may be inferred from the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Graves, one of the editors of the Christian Reflector, who recently visited the Island.

"The Sabbath is the great business day of the week to the middle and lower classes, while the rich employ it as a holiday. It is the day especially devoted to military parade and marketing. The public squares are crowded with buyers and sellers, and all the shops thronged with customers as on no other day of the week. The marriage relation is, for the most part, sustained without a marriage contract, and divorce and polygamy are too common to excite attention. The faithful husband of a wife is a character so rare as to be a marked exception to the general rule. * * * * In a word, the institutions of the Sabbath and of marriage, are alike prostrate. Both have a name; but the divine object of neither is secured, with a vast majority of the population. As a legitimate consequence, profaneness, intemperance, and vulgarity extensively characterize all classes of society."

The revolution in Hayti, which expelled Boyer from the Island, led to a correspondence having in view the introduction of missionaries from the United States. One of the letters from a prominent citizen of Jeremie, 1843, says, "You have exactly hit on the essential points in recommending the establishment of individual families by marriages, to serve as a basis of the great social family, the establishment of institutions for the diffusion of moral and religious instruction," &c.

The inference to be drawn from this letter is, that in 1843, as in 1849, the marriage relation was not established and respected in Hayti.

Here, then, in Hayti, we have the proof that *liberty and equality*, enjoyed socially and politically, to its fullest extent, are also powerless in the promotion of civilization. Even its newly made emperor, we are told, still practises some heathenish rites allied to the *devil-worship* of Africa. We shall not go to despotic Hayti for agents to help to build up Republican Liberia.

But shall we go to Mexico for aid in the civilization of Africa? A part of the population, torn by the slave trade from Africa, was taken to Mexico. As our plan contemplates the tracing of the various lines of dispersion, so as to inquire into the results, a glance at Mexico will be appropriate, especially as we have in that government still a different phase of the movement exhibited to us for our instruction.

The character of the earlier Spanish adventurers and colonists in Mexico, and the means by which they subdued and enslaved the natives, is too familiar to all to need a notice at present. From a statement in Jay's Review of the Mexican War, we learn that the population of Mexico stands as follows:

Indians, . . .	4,000,000
Whites, . . .	1,000,000
Negroes, . . .	6,000
Mixed breeds, .	2,009,509 = 7,015,509.

Judge Jay, it must be remembered, is a warm abolitionist, and of course not disposed to asperse the character of the descendants of Africa anywhere. By this statement it will be perceived, that

one important object has been gained in Mexico, and which, in the opinion of many, constitutes the sole barrier to the colored man's elevation in the United States. We refer to *prejudice against color*. In Mexico it seems to have had no existence, but that, on the contrary, *amalgamation*, on an extended scale, has been practised, producing a population of *mixed breeds*, amounting to more than two millions of souls, out of seven millions, and reducing the pure negro stock, imported from Africa, to the meager number of six thousand. But this was not the only point gained for the African in Mexico. In due time, *liberty and equality* were also bestowed. Mexico, in 1813, threw off the yoke of Spain, and declared herself a Republic. But the attempt of Iturbide, to restore a despotism, raising up a race of military chieftains for his overthrow, afterward produced a struggle for power, resulting, in 1824, in the prohibition of the slave trade, and the adoption of a constitution declaring *free* all born after that date. Pedraza being elected President, Santa Anna at the head of the military, interposed, and placed in the presidential chair the defeated candidate, Guerrero, who, to strengthen himself, and the better to resist an invasion from Spain, then in process of execution, issued a decree, September, 1829, emancipating all the slaves. Thus was liberty and equality at once secured to the slaves of Mexico.

But Mexico, under Spain, had a *fettered Christianity*, transplanted to her soil, which is still retained, and she has carefully excluded from her limits a free Christianity, *with its schoolhouses and Bibles for the people*. The third article of her constitution of 1824, declares, that, "The religion of the Mexican nation is, and will be perpetually, the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibit the exercise of any other whatever." It is true, that when Bustamente, who deposed Guerrero, was overturned in 1833, by Santa Anna, this general attempted to pursue a liberal course of policy, and abolished ecclesiastical tithes, monastic vows, and the authority of the Pope; and took the education of youth out of the hands of the priests, appointing the professors in the five free colleges which he established, without regard to country or religious faith. But this effort to liberalize the religion of Mexico proved an abortion, the President, after putting down several revolts, being forced to readopt the old system as the established faith of Mexico.

Now let us see what has been gained for the Africans who were taken to Mexico. First, the abolition of *prejudice* and the adoption of *amalgamation*; and second, *emancipation with liberty and equality, including the right of suffrage*. Here, then, in the opinion of many, is a vast gain for the African, above what he has had granted to him elsewhere; because, though, in Hayti, he had liberty and equality, yet *all being African together*, there was not the *honor* conferred which was secured in Mexico, by making him the equal to the descendants of the proud Castilians who had conquered Montezuma. Now for the results of these favoring circumstances. But, happily for us, Judge Jay has drawn the picture of Mexico, for 1846, to the life.

"The Republic of Mexico had long been the prey of military

chieftains, who, in their struggles for power, and the perpetual revolutions they had excited, had exhausted the resources of the country. Without money, without credit, without a single frigate, without commerce, without union, and with a feeble population of seven or eight millions, composed chiefly of Indians and mixed breeds, scattered over immense regions, and for the most part sunk in ignorance, and sloth, Mexico was certainly not a very formidable enemy to the United States." In addition, the Judge states, that the exports from Mexico, in 1842, were, exclusive of gold and silver, \$1,500,000, or a little over forty-nine and a half cents per head to her population, excluding the Indians. To those who are curious in seeking for contrasts, it may be interesting to them to know, that the export commerce of Liberia is about \$100 per head for each emigrant residing in the Republic.

Here, now, are the results of the movements in Mexico. She adopted a Republican form of government, denounced the foreign slave trade, and emancipated her slaves, placing the whole population in a condition of social and political equality. But in thus obeying the dictates of one of the fundamental principles of the North American confederacy, which declares the *natural equality of mankind*, she overlooked the other still more important one, *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*. This fatal error, the source of all her misfortunes, was the result of another oversight which Mexico committed in the outset of her career. In casting off the shackles of political despotism, she retained the *fettered form of Christianity* which had been adopted to give seenrity to crowned heads, and which is so antagonistic to the spirit of republican institutions. This system, where not stimulated by the rivalry, of a free Christianity, makes no provision for general education. The Republican leaders, therefore, who wished to advance the general intelligence of the people, could not accomplish the task, nor take the educational interests out of the hands of those who had previously possessed their control. The ignorance of the masses being thus perpetuated, the severing of the ties binding the slave to the master left the freed man, in consequence of his ignorance, a constant prey to the intrigues of military chieftains. The right of suffrage was thus rendered almost utterly valueless in Mexico, because the decisions of the ballot-box were repeatedly set aside, and the power of the sword interposed to give to the nation its rulers. How far emancipation in Mexico may have arrested the prosperity of the nation, and tended to destroy its internal peace, rendering property and life insecure, by letting loose a large number of semibarbarous and savage men from the restraints of slavery, to be controlled at will by ambitious chieftains, we shall not wait to inquire. Our concern is with the effects produced upon the Africans by their transfer to Mexico. Their history tells us, that liberty and equality in Mexico, have fallen far short in the production of the good to the slave which his wants require; *not that these privileges are valueless and ought to be withheld, but because that the intellectual and moral culture, which impart intelligence and moral integrity, were not included in the gift.*

We have now completed the circuit of our investigations. The facts revealed in relation to the intensity of the wretchedness of the African race, not only in Africa itself, but in many of the countries to which they have been transported, are well calculated, at first view, to cause the philanthropic heart to shrink from making an effort to afford relief, because of the immensity of the obstacles to be overcome, before their deliverance can be accomplished. But, upon a closer view of the subject, it would seem that their dispersion to the different countries in which they have been enslaved, was permitted by Divine Providence, with the view of teaching the world some great lessons upon the subject of *the true elements of human progress*, and at the same time to make ample provision for the recovery of Africa from barbarism. Let us see.

Without at present recapitulating the facts upon which we base our opinions, or stating the arguments by which they may be supported, the investigations, just completed, afford much material to sustain the following conclusions :

- I. That a *Free Christianity*—revealing the individual responsibility of man to God, producing a pure morality, generating independence of thought, begetting a spirit of philanthropy, and teaching the natural equality of mankind—is the *primary* element of civilization and all useful human progress.
- II. That the *secondary* but essential elements of civilization and useful human progress, and which are included in and necessarily dependent, for their full development, upon the primary, are these :
 1. Liberty of conscience in the worship of God
 2. Both secular and religious education.
 3. Personal freedom.
 4. Social and political equality.
 5. The sacredness of the marriage relation, and the possession and control, by parents, of their offspring.
 6. The right of property in the fruits of industry.
 7. Time, for the operation and development of these elements.

From the possession of these rights and privileges, and their *constant exercise*, there necessarily is produced among men : First, The fear of God and just conceptions of moral responsibility. Second, An enlightenment of conscience, begetting moral integrity and a pure morality, thus securing confidence between man and man, and creating the basis of the safety of society. Third, A proper estimate of man's relations and responsibilities to his fellow-man. Fourth, Philanthropy, or the desire of the welfare of our neighbor. Fifth, The love of home and of offspring, leading to untiring efforts for their welfare. Sixth, Industry, to accumulate property for the individual's or the family's use. Seventh, Trade and commerce, to supply the artificial wants which advancing civilization creates.

The truth of these conclusions being admitted, it will follow, that just so far as the *primary* and *secondary* elements of civilization and useful human progress are possessed, or not possessed, in whole or in part, by a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, to the same

extent and in the same proportion may we expect them to advance or retrograde. And if we find that the progress or non-progress of the Africans, who form the subject of our inquiries, has been in the proportion in which they have enjoyed, or not enjoyed, all, or some, or none, of the blessings, rights, and privileges named, then we have evidence to establish the truth of the proposition, that the catalogue given, constitutes the elements of civilization. And further, it being thus proved, that a free Christianity necessarily begets intelligence and moral integrity, and therefore tends to restore man to his original state of knowledge and uprightness; and as such a moral condition necessarily secures the welfare of society, it follows, that our proposition, heretofore stated, is true, viz : *that Christianity, uncorrupted, is capable of restoring to man his lost happiness.* Now let us see how far our conclusions are sustained by the facts brought out in our investigations.

In the United States, where the *primary* element, a free Christianity, had its birth, the commencement of the slave's elevation is of equal date with his touching the shore. But as the *secondary* elements of progress have been mostly denied to the slave, and the primary often enjoyed but imperfectly, his advancement has been impeded, and his progress falls short of what it would have been, had his privileges been more extended, so as to include more of the elements of civilization. This view is fully sustained by the fact, that the greater advancement made by the *free colored man* over the *slave*, in the United States, is about in the proportion of the extent of the additional privileges which he has enjoyed.

In Jamaica, which, for three hundred years, was emphatically *without religion*, and where, during that time, neither the primary nor a single one of the secondary elements of civilization were in the possession of the slaves, no progress was made by them until a free Christianity was introduced and their religious education commenced. Nor was the progress rapid until the emancipation act, of 1833, put them in possession of an increased number of the elements of civilization. As they still lack an essential element, social and political equality, and as secular and religious education is not supplied to the extent of the wants of the population, retarding causes exist in Jamaica, which will prevent that high intellectual and moral development that should be secured to the African.

In Cuba and Brazil, it does not appear that the slaves possess either the primary or secondary elements of civilization, and, consequently, the first step in human progress remains to be taken. Unlike Jamaica, which was without religion, Cuba and Brazil had a fettered Christianity, but sunk so low as to have lost what little vitality it once possessed, and consequently, in these countries no one has cared for the soul of the slave, but he is still left to toil on in mental and moral night, and in anguish and in woe, until a premature death kindly wrests him from the oppressor's grasp.

In Hayti, one fact presents itself, of peculiar importance in proof of our proposition, that a free Christianity is the *primary* element of civilization. The primary element alone existed among the slaves

of the United States, and all the secondary, except liberty of conscience, and religious education, were wanting; yet progress was made, and an approximation to civilization attained. But in Hayti, for nearly half a century, *all the secondary elements of progress*, excepting liberty of conscience and secular and religious education, were in possession of the people, but instead of progress under these advantages, there has been retrogression; and no other sufficient reason can be assigned for it, but that the primary element, a free Christianity, which alone can develop the moral powers of man and impart life and activity to the secondary elements, was wholly excluded from the island. Had Hayti, when she became republican, possessed the primary element of progress, she would have been dotted over with schoolhouses and churches; secular and religious education would have prevailed everywhere; the sacredness of the marriage relation would have been respected; the welfare of offspring promoted; *voluntary industry* adopted, and the energies of its inhabitants roused into action. Under these circumstances despotism could not have reëntered the island.

The facts in relation to the colored population of Mexico, are so strictly the same with those of Hayti, that we need not state them. Twenty years' possession of nearly all the secondary elements of civilization, but in complete destitution of the primary, has scarcely impelled them forward a step beyond their original barbarism. To the white population of Mexico, the results have been very similar to what has occurred in Brazil. In both countries, there is danger, it would seem, *from the natural tendencies of fallen human nature to barbarism*, that the civilization transplanted from Europe, in the absence of the primary element of progress, may greatly retrograde, in consequence of the overpowering influence of heathenism, by which it is surrounded. This remark will equally apply to nearly all the South American governments, which, on throwing off the European yoke of political despotism, and giving freedom to the slave, made no provision for public education, either secular or religious.

But this examination of the different results that have grown out of the various degrees, in which the African has been brought under the influence of the elements of civilization, in the countries where he has been enslaved, may now be closed. Facts enough are given, certainly, to teach us important lessons in relation to the elements of useful human progress—facts enough to show that Christianity is the primary element of civilization; not Christianity, as fettered and made an engine of despotic sway over mankind, holding them in ignorance of their rights and obligations; but a free Christianity, based upon the Bible, demanding for men, equal rights and liberty of conscience, and teaching them that respect for the rights of others, and that moral integrity which gives security to governments, based upon law—facts enough, too, to prove, that unless all the elements of progress, *primary and secondary*, be enjoyed unrestrained, and in *full exercise*, by a people, there will exist impediments to their advancement—facts enough, further, to prove that it is dangerous to

withhold from men, the elements of *moral* progress, when conferring upon them those of social and political advancement—and facts enough, furthermore, to prove, that for a civilized community, or state, or nation, to admit a barbarous or semi-barbarous people into its bosom, or to retain them when forced upon it, without supplying to them the elements of intellectual and moral elevation, is to cherish an agent antagonistic to civilization, and which must react unfavorably upon itself, in retarding, if not preventing, its further prosperity.

Our investigations also show, that the African race is not in possession of all the elements of civilization in any of the countries to which they have been transported. A further investigation would show that there is no prospect, at present, of their ever attaining them in these countries. But as their possession and free exercise, is essential to the production of the highest mental and moral developments of which the race is susceptible, the establishment of the Republic of Liberia, becomes a matter of the highest importance, and most profound interest to the colored race.

In the Republic of Liberia, and in Liberia only, can the *colored man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. In the Republic of the United States, and in the United States only, can the *white man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. Here are two facts, not to be controverted. There exists at present, no European government, whose population possesses all these elements of progress. France has put herself in possession of the secondary, but is destitute of the primary. England may be said, in a good degree, to possess the primary, but withholds a part of the secondary from a large portion of her people. We repeat the assertion, therefore, that the Republic of the United States, is the only nation under the sun, where the *white man* can enjoy all the elements of useful human progress, and that the Republic of Liberia, is the only point, on the whole earth, where the *colored man* can enjoy them. And, further, we assert, that the United States is the only country, where the colored man has had the opportunity of *enjoying any part of these blessings, and of witnessing the workings of the whole, and of comprehending their nature, and learning their value.*

And now we are prepared also to assert, that the United States, only, of all the governments of the earth, *possesses the necessary agents, in the persons of intelligent and industrious colored men, to recover Africa from barbarism, and to bestow upon that benighted land, as we are now doing in Liberia, all the elements necessary to the production of the highest degree of civilization, and of thus securing to her, the greatest amount of prosperity, and of happiness.*

Here, then, are the results of bringing together, on the soil of the United States, the highest developments of Christian intelligence and integrity, and the lowest form of pagan ignorance and depravity. Here are the results of the experiment which, seemingly, was to test

the capability of a free Christianity to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined—proving the unity and natural equality of the human race. Here is ample testimony, to prove the sufficiency of a pure Christianity, to restore to man his lost happiness. And here, now, is unfolded to view, the solution of the great question involved in all our investigations, *the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.*


The people of Liberia are themselves a standing wonder to the world. The greater part of them were slaves, until the hour they left our shores, and of all men in the world, would have been pronounced, and were pronounced, the least able to accomplish the work they were sent to perform. But the elements of progress were borne along with them. The missionaries of a free Christianity offered themselves as a willing sacrifice, from year to year, to plant the elements of civilization in Africa, that there, amid moral darkness and degradation, the evidence might be furnished, that the religion of their Lord and Master was divine; and able, not only, to secure eternal life to the soul of the believer, but to redeem the world from oppression and woe.

Europe stands astonished at the mighty progress of the United States, in all that is ennobling and great. Its people imitate our example, and aim at our results, without understanding the secret of our success, and therefore fail. They seem to be wholly incapable of comprehending the nature of our free institutions. Liberty, under the restraints of law, is an enigma they cannot solve. Thus far, we have stood alone, as a monument of the power of Republican Institutions, to advance the welfare of man. And, indeed, such seemed to be our unique position, that we were ready to boast that only the Anglo-Saxon could be safely free. But now Liberia, as if to rebuke us for our pride, stands forward, and begins to loom up as another monument of the power of free institutions. He that was once a poor slave, and cowered beneath the voice of the white man, now stands erect in Liberia, like his own native palm tree, nor bows in meek submission but to the voice of the Eternal.

The citizens of Liberia are beginning to realize the relations and responsibilities of their new position, and call loudly for help to execute the high destiny to which they are called. Said the Rev. Mr. Paine, of Liberia, when on a visit to New York, with President Roberts, 1848: "Nearly every one of the officers, from the least even to the greatest, are communicants in some evangelical church, and adorn their life by a holy walk and conversation. You do not find them on the Sabbath day, strolling about the streets, and seeking for pleasure, as I have seen your people in this country, but they are found in the school and sanctuary. As an evidence of their being a strictly moral and religious people, he would state, that out of eleven members in the House of Representatives, and six in the Senate, seventeen in all, only one was not a professor of religion. Intelligent Liberians," continued Mr. Paine, "are impressed with the conviction, that the Supreme Disposer of events, has called them to a

high mission; that they have transferred Plymouth to Africa, and that civilization, republicanism, and Christianity, are to proceed from them over a vast continent that lies in the shadow of death. They are nerving themselves to the fulfillment of such a destiny. They have grasped the great idea, and have incorporated it with the foundations of the Republic."

APPENDIX.

 Attention is directed to the following movement:

OHIO IN AFRICA.

At a meeting of colored citizens of Cincinnati, held on the 14th inst., the following preamble and resolutions were offered and adopted:

Whereas, Believing, that with all the exertions on our part, and the assistance of those friendly to our elevation, we must despair of ever seeing the prejudice manifested against our people done away in the United States, for centuries yet to come, from two ostensible reasons:

First, As no colored persons ever voluntarily emigrated to this country, but were brought here in chains, consequently, we that are here, are either slaves or their descendants; and being thus situated, the vain *pride* of the white race will never admit the *social equality* of a people who are their bondsmen, or whose fathers have been their slaves.

Second, We believe all nations, or men, are respected according to their ability to control, by *numbers*, or *intelligence*; we, possessing neither, can never expect to enjoy a *political equality* where we must fail to command and enforce respect.

Under these considerations, having feelings and aspirations such as other men, we feel it to be a duty which we owe to posterity, to seek a home where we may be free and our children reared under the blessings of liberty. Other nations have colonized and prospered, and why not we? When blessed with the same advantages, we are equal to any and inferior to none. Therefore,

Resolved, That we believe that Liberia offers to the oppressed children of Africa a home where they may be free: and that it is the only place where we can establish a nationality, and be acknowledged as men by the nations of the earth.

Resolved, That the present meeting enter into the organization of an Association for the purpose of emigrating to the territory now being purchased on the coast of Africa, by CHARLES McMICKEN, Esq., of this city, for the colored people of Ohio.

Resolved, That we believe it expedient, before emigrating to Liberia, to send out efficient agents to examine the country, and bring back some satisfactory report to our people.

Resolved, That this preamble and resolutions be published in several of the papers of this city.

ELIAS P. WALKER, Chairman.

WM. BYRD, Secretary.

The following important letter, from the Rev. J. P. PINNEY, formerly Governor of Liberia, was not received in time for insertion in the proper place :

DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.

Dear Brother—Your interesting letter of the 16th ult., lingered, and then my absence for a few days, to attend a meeting at Annapolis, delayed a reply until it is probably too late to do you a service. In Mr. Tracy's pamphlet, entitled "Missions in Africa," there is a note with some interesting facts relative to cannibalism.

I never saw men eating human flesh, but have heard of its being done in the vicinity of Liberia.

The letters of Sion Harris and Rev. G. Brown, who were attacked at the mission of the M. E. Church, at Heddington, in 1840, by Gotorah, the famous Condo warrior, (he had threatened to eat the missionary), state that the dried limbs of men slain previously were thrown away in their flight.

This same warrior visited Gov. Buchanan, in 1839, to treat for a peace, and while there gave, in public council, as an objection to making peace, that he would have nobody to eat.

In 1835, while I was agent of the Colonization Society, I sent two Methodist ministers, who were men of high standing, each having before been elected to the office of Vice Governor of the Colony, as commissioners to negotiate a peace between the Veys and Condoes. While they were at Bo-poro, the chief town of the Condo nation, they stated that human flesh was offered in the market for food.

In 1833, I made a tour sixty or seventy miles, to a king north-east of the Bassa Cove Colony. My purpose was to proceed several hundred miles, but the king resolutely refused leave, and no bribe or importunity prevailed to change his decision. The reason assigned was, that as I came with letters from the Governor, the King was responsible for my safety, and the neighboring tribe, Pessa men, would kill and eat me.

The missionaries from England to Coomassie, capital of Ashantee, stated in their published journal, in 1841, that they saw men returning from the market with human limbs for food.

Of the Gallinas, I know nothing from actual observation. I imagine that Cape Mount would furnish you as good a point for a settlement. By occupying Gallinas, you would more surely exterminate the greatest slave mart in western Africa.

Very respectfully, yours,

J. B. PINNEY.

New York, March 2, 1850.











UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 001948337